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THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

HISTORY



ЯЗЫКЪ

ИСТОРИИ



ВЪЗНЕСЕНІЕ

СВЯТЫХЪ АПОСТОЛЪ

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СВЯТЫХЪ АПОСТОЛЪ

REMARKS
ON
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY.

Διὰ δυσφημίας ἢ εὐφημίας.



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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
RICHARD
Earl of Burlington,
Trustee for the LECTURE
APPOINTED BY
The Hon. Robert Boyle Esq.

These REMARKS

Are Inscribed by

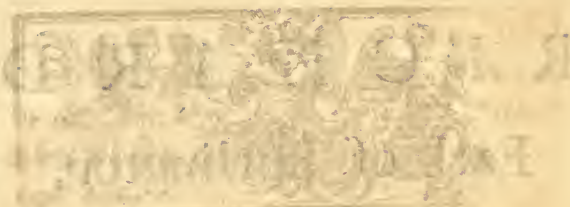
His LORDSHIP'S

Most obliged humble Servant,

JOHN JORTIN.

TO THE

REVEREND FATHERS OF THE



TRUSTEES OF THE

REFUGEE

AND

PROTECTOR

OF THE

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AND

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PREFACE.

WHAT is here offered to the Public is not a regular Treatise, but only a collection of detached Remarks on Ecclesiastical History and ancient Writers, in which the order of time is neither strictly observed, nor greatly neglected, and no anxious accuracy is bestowed upon the dates of years. This is a necessary premonition to the Reader, who else would seek what he will not find.

Yet was it designed, slight and imperfect as it is, for the service of *Truth*, by

one who would be glad to attend and grace *her* triumphs ; as her soldier, if he has had the honour to serve successfully under her banner ; or as a captive tied to her chariot-wheels, if he has, though undesignedly, committed any offence against her.

Greater undertakings on these subjects are a task fit for those who are blessed with conveniencies, spirits, and abilities, and a task sufficient to exercise all their talents ; for Ecclesiastical History is a sort of enchanted Land, where it is hard to distinguish Truth from false Appearances, and a Maze which requires more than Ariadne's Clue.

Whilst exalted Geniuses discern with a kind of intuitive knowledge, they who have less penetration may be permitted, now and then, where Reason and Religion are not injured by it, to pause and doubt. Not that doubting is desirable and pleasant ; but it is rather better than affirming strongly upon slender proofs, or taking opinions upon trust.

And

And yet there are instances, in Ecclesiastical Antiquities, of spurious Authors, forged Records, and frivolous Reports, where hesitation at this time of day would be improper, and where a man is not to remain for ever in suspense, and to hear what every Patron has to say, who starts up, and pleads the exploded cause of his ragged Clients.

The intention of this work is to produce such evidence as may support and confirm the truth of Christianity, and shew that the Providence of God has appeared in its establishment and in its preservation; to avoid peremptory decisions on some lately controverted questions, and seek out a way between the extremes; not to pronounce those things false which may perhaps be true, nor those things certain which are only probable, nor those things probable, which are ambiguous; and to try the experiment whether by this method a Reader may not be gently led to grant all that is required of him, and rather more than less; to set

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before

before men some of the virtues, as well as failings, of the ancient Christians, whence they may draw practical inferences ; to excite in their hearts a love for Christianity, that best gift of Heaven to mankind, and a respect, though not a superstitious veneration, for those good men, who, if they could not dispute for it altogether so well as the present generation, yet, which is more, could die for it ; to reject those trifles which persons of greater zeal than discernment would obtrude upon the world as golden reliques of Primitive Christianity ; and to add several things of a miscellaneous and philological kind, which will serve, at least, to diversify the subject. Such is the intention of the Work : may it atone for its defects !

There is some comfort arising from a candid observation of the younger Pliny ; *Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat*. A homely collection of remarkable transactions and revolutions has ever something to recommend it to favour : and if this be true of History, it is likewise true of thoughts

thoughts and observations on History, if they be not quite impertinent. They who represent it as a perfect loss of time to peruse such authors as the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores* (though they are illustrated by excellent Commentators) and the *Byzantine Writers*, have a taste too polite and fastidious; since, where better Historians are not to be had, those of an inferior class must supply their place, and become necessary and valuable on many accounts. A French writer is on our side, who says, *Tout livre est bon, Every book is good*: for thus he translates the Latin title of a Treatise of Philo Judæus, *Omnis bonus liber est, Every good man is a free man*. It was well for him that he did not live within the reach of the Inquisition, which might have taken this as a reflection on the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The Author would willingly escape the dislike of *some* of those persons with whom perhaps he will be found not entirely to agree. He and they are engaged in the same common cause, and he hopes that,
for

for the sake of many remarks contained in this work, they will excuse the rest; as on his side, a diversity of sentiments, in some points, lessens not the regard and value which he has for them, and which they so justly deserve. In one respect he pretends to be extremely like Joseph Mede. *I have a conceit, says that excellent person, that some opinions are in some sort fatal to some men, and therefore I can with much patience endure a man to be contrary-minded, and have no inclination to contend with him. --- There is more goes to persuasion than reasons and demonstrations, and that is not in my power. --- There are few men living who are less troubled to see others differ from them in opinion than I am; whether it be a virtue or a vice, I know not.*

One of the noblest uses which can be made of Christian Antiquities would be to learn wisdom, and union, and moderation, from the faults, indiscretions, and follies, and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predecessors; to observe

care.

carefully what was good, and what was blameable in remoter ages, and thence to improve ourselves, as we are a Christian nation, by removing the blemishes and defects, from which perhaps we are not free, and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected.

A Christian society, formed upon such a plan, would not altogether answer the fair and bright idea which the Imagination represents, because Perfection dwells not here below, and some bad materials must of necessity enter into the structure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that Church, which the beloved Disciple had the pleasure to see *coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband, who had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof.* Rev. xxi.

For this excellent end and purpose the divine Providence seems to have preserved Ecclesiastical Records, and has command-

ed devouring Time to respect them, that Posterity might receive instruction from those venerable and silent Monitors, and not want examples to shun and to follow.

Christianity, reduced to its principles, is more plain and simple than is commonly imagined, and is calculated for general utility.

When the first teachers of the Gospel, the Apostles of Jesus, died, their authority, in a great measure, died with them, and devolved not upon their disciples --- but it still lives in their writings.

Christianity, though so much of it ever subsisted as to distinguish it advantageously from Paganism, Judaism, Mohammedism, Deism, varied considerably, and adopted several disagreeing Non-essentials, according to the times and the people who entertained it.

A clear and unpolluted Fountain, fed by secret chanel's with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and
takes

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takes a long and winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes.

When Christianity became a bulky system, one may trace in it the genius of the loquacious and ever-wrangling Greeks; of the enthusiastic Africans, whose imagination was sublimed by the heat of the sun; of the superstitious Ægyptians, whose fertile soil and warm climate produced Monks and Hermits swarming like animals sprung from the impregnated mud of the Nile; and of the ambitious and political Romans, who were resolved to rule over the world in one shape or other. To this we may add the Jewish zeal for trifles, arising from a contracted illiberal mind; the learned subtilty of the Gentile philosophers; and the pomp and ceremony of Paganism.

As soon as Christian societies began, debates began, and as soon as Christianity was by law established, debates grew more violent. It is not in the wit or in the power of man, or rather, it is an impossibility

possibility to prevent diversity of opinions, since this is the unavoidable result of human imperfection and human liberty, and is not to be removed, unless we had more light, or less agency.

It is related of a grave Roman Magistrate, that, when he came to Greece as Proconsul, he assembled together the Philosophers at Athens, the head-quarters of wit and logic, and told them that he was much concerned at their dissensions, and advised them to agree at last in their opinions, and offered them his authority and assistance to reunite and reconcile them; upon which they all agreed, in laughing at him for his pains. *Cicero de Leg.* i. 20.

Councils after Councils convened to settle the differences amongst Christians; and sometimes they met so frequently, that they might be called *Quarter-sessions* as well as *Councils*. But Gregory Nazianzen, a man of learning, a Christian, a Bishop, and a Father of the Church, has told us, that, for his part, he chose to avoid

void all such assemblies, because he never saw any that had good success, and that did not rather increase than lessen dissensions and quarrels. *Epist.* lv. and in many other places, where he repeats the same complaints in verse and in prose.

The Christians had never agreed concerning the time of keeping Easter; but when Victor was Bishop of Rome, about A. D. 196, the contest grew warm, and Victor excommunicated, or attempted to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches which would not comply with his Infallibility, for which Irenæus reproved him as he well deserved. Thus the domineering spirit began to exert itself betimes. The Council of Nice afterwards settled the affair, and then the few Quartodecimans who stood out were called heretics, according to the custom of calling every thing heresy that offends the majority. But they must have been a stubborn and refractory set of people, to wrangle on about such a trifle, and not to yield to the far greater number in a thing of no consequence

sequence to faith or morals. They should have agreed to break the egg at the same end with their neighbours. If the upper side has been sometimes imperious and over-ruling, the lower has been as perverse and unper-suasible.

When the Fathers assembled at Ephesus, and, headed by Cyril of Alexandria, had decreed that Nestorius should be deposed, and that the Virgin-Mother of our Saviour should be called *Mother of God*, the people of Ephesus, who had been in miserable fears and anxieties, with transports of joy embraced the knees, and kissed the hands of the Bishops; a people, as we may suppose, warm, and sprightly, and very much in earnest. Their Pagan Ancestors had signalized themselves by their zeal for Diana.

If General Councils have dogmatically decreed strange things, Little, National, Protestant Synods have often acted in a manner full as arbitrary. One that was held in France A. D. 1612. offended at something that *Piscator* had taught concerning

cerning *Justification*, compelled all who should go into Orders to take this oath : *I receive and approve all that is contained in the Confession of faith of the Reformed Churches of this nation, and promise to persevere therein to my life's end, and never to believe or teach any thing not conformable to it : and because some have contested about the sense of the eighteenth article, which is concerning Justification, I declare and protest before God, that I understand it according to the sense received in our Churches, approved by National Synods, and conformable to the word of God, which is, that our Saviour was obedient to the Moral and Ceremonial Law, not only for our good, but in our stead, that all the obedience which he paid to the Law is imputed to us, and that our Justification consists, not only in the remission of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness. --- And I promise never to depart from the doctrine received in our Churches, and to submit to the Regulations of National Synods on this subject. Synodes Nationaux, etc. par Aymon.* These men would no more have parted
b with

with an inch of their Theological System, than the Muscovites once would with an inch of their beards.

Here follows another Decree, made in France A. D. 1620.

I swear and promise before God and this holy Assembly, that I receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrine taught and decided by the National Synod of Dort --- I swear and promise that I will persevere in it all my life long, and defend it with all my power, and never depart from it in my Sermons, College-Lectures, Writings, or Conversation or in any other manner, public, or private. I declare also and protest that I reject and condemn the doctrine of the Arminians, because etc. --- So help me God, as I swear all this without equivocation or mental reservation.

They should have thus prefaced the Ordinance ; *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things which follow, etc.*

To

To compel any one to swear that he will never alter his opinions about Controversial Divinity, is a grievous imposition. It might have made some unstable men go over to Popery out of resentment, and say, *If I must surrender body, soul, sense, and understanding, the Church of Rome shall have them, and not you.*

Thus,

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra :

whilst Christianity blushes and grieves that she can say so little in behalf of her children.

I pass over the Synod of Dort, in which the prevailing Party oppressed, as they often do, the Wise and the Learned, and entailed an irrational and uncharitable System on their Posterity.

It is said that Pope Innocent, the tenth, (I think) when the Jansenian controversy was so warmly agitated, told his learned Librarian Lucas Holstenius, that he was very uneasy about it, and unwilling to decide it, because it was a point which he

understood not, and had never studied. Holstenius replied, that it seemed not necessary for his Holiness, at that time of life, to begin to study it, and much less to decide it, since it was an intricate subject, which had divided not only the Christian world, but the greatest philosophers of antiquity ; that if the contending parties were left to themselves, after they had reasoned, and railed, and wrangled, and declaimed, and preached, and written against one another, and eased themselves that way, they would at last sit down and be quiet for very weariness, or for want of hearers and readers : which advice seemed not at all amiss to the Pope, and was favourably received, but not followed.

Postellus was a Scholar and a Fanatic, two things that are seldom found together. Latin and Greek helped to damage his head, and Hebrew quite overset him. He gave into Cabbalistic interpretations of the Old Testament, and believed in the revelations of some Sibyl, some daughter of Esdras,

Efdras, who prophefied in his days, and was one of thofe who want to let in new light upon the Church, whilft they want more to have the light fhut out, and the flaws and crevifes patched and ftopped in the *ὑπερώον*, in the upper chamber at home. The poor man was accused of herefy; upon which, he entered boldly into the Lion's Den, furrendered himfelf a prifoner to the Inquifitors at Venice, offering to take his trial, and to demonstrate his innocence; and thus gave an additional proof of his diforder, whilft, with the adventurous Lover in the Fable,

*Tænarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,
Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum
Ingressus, Manesque adiit, Regemque trem-
endum,
Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere
corda.*

Postellus, like Orpheus, found favour in the fight of the *Infernal Powers*: They behaved themselves, who would believe it! as Philosophers and Christians upon

the occasion, and did him justice ; for after a fair hearing, they passed sentence on him, declaring that he was not a *Heretic*, but only *Mad* ; *Postellum non esse hæreticum, sed tantum amentem*. Lettres de Simon, i. 23. If the Inquisitors would act thus, it would be better for their prisoners in this world, and for themselves in the next. It will then be found a poor excuse for their cruelty, that it helped to fill the Church with Nominal Catholics, and to keep up an unity of exoteric faith in the bond of ignorance, fear, and hypocrisy.

Men will compell others, not, to think with them, for that is impossible ; but to say they do, upon which they obtain full leave, not to think or reason at all, and this is called *Unity* ; which is somewhat like the behaviour of the Romans, as it is described by a brave country-man of ours in Tacitus, --- *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*.

Disputing enflames firey zeal, and men bestow blows upon their antagonists, especially

pecially when arguments fall short. *Invalidum Urfis caput, vis maxima in brachiis et in lumbis*, says Solinus. If their hands are tied, they bestow a plentiful effusion of curses, and denounce divine judgments; but if they are at full liberty, they bestow both: and then Cruelty is called Charity, Charity to the soul, and this same Charity, as it is of a fruitful and diffusive nature, produces Anathemas, Informations, Calumnies, Banishments, Imprisonments, Confiscations, Inquisitions, and so forth.

Tillemont, speaking of the scandalous persecution in the reign of Constantius, when the *Arians* oppressed the *Consubstantialists*, and warmed with his subject, breaks out into these reflections, --- *Conviction and persuasion cannot be brought about by the imperious menaces of princes; nor is there any room left for the exercise of reason, when a refusal to submit brings on banishment and death.*--- *Such doctrines proceed from the invention of men, not from the Spirit of God, who forces and compels*

no one against his will. His observations are just: you can no more subdue the Understanding with blows, than beat down a castle with syllogisms. A lucid ray shot through the soul of this superstitious, though else valuable Writer, as a flash of lightning in a dark night. There is indeed between the human Understanding and Truth a natural and eternal alliance, which is suspended and disordered by Ignorance, Passion, Bigotry, Prejudice and Selfishness, but can never be totally broken. When a man suffers, and sees his friends suffer for conscience sake, he perceives the beauty of the sacred Rule, *Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them*: but when the Orthodox persecute the Heterodox, this pious Author winks hard, and can see no great harm in it. No more could Augustin, when, upon second thoughts, but not the wisest, he contended for the doctrine of persecution, in some Letters, which Bayle has taken to pieces very handsomely in his *Philosophical Commentary*;

tary ; happy, if he had always so exercised his abilities, and had left his *Manichæans* to shift for themselves ! Sarah, says Augustin, and Hagar are types of the Catholic Church and of the Heretics. When Hagar offends her mistress, this is downright rebellion : when Sarah beats Hagar, this is due correction. So is it with the Spiritual and the Ungodly ; they are always at variance, always buffeting and bruising each other, but the bastinadoes of the Righteous are sanctified by the good intention, and by the salutary effects.

Socrates the historian, like an honest man, censures Theodosius, an orthodox Bishop, for persecuting the Macedonians, vii. 3. upon which Valesius thus delivers his opinion : *Celebris quæstio est, etc. It is a celebrated and much controverted question, whether it be lawful for Catholics, and particularly for Bishops, to persecute heretics. I think it is necessary to have recourse to a DISTINCTION. It is certainly unlawful to vex them, as Theodosius did,*

did, for the sake of extorting money; and also to prosecute them as criminals, and to thirst after their blood, as Idatius and some other Bishops of Spain acted towards the Priscillianists. But it is and ever was permitted to the Catholics to implore the aid of Princes and Magistrates against Heretics, that they may be restrained, and kept in order, and that they may not insolently exalt themselves above the Catholics, or insult and deride the Catholic Religion. Augustin indeed confesses that he had formerly been of opinion, that Heretics should not be harassed by Catholics, but rather allured by all kind of gentle methods. Yet afterwards he changed his opinion, having learned by experience that the Laws made by the Emperors against Heretics had proved the happy occasion of their conversion; and he observes that the converted Donatists had acknowledged that they never should have returned to the Church, but have lived and died in their errors, if they had not been, in a manner, incited and attracted by the punishments and mulcts of the Imperial Laws. This passage of Augustin, which

is

is very elegant, is in the xlviiith Epistle to Vincentius, to which may be added what he has said in the xxiii^d ch. of the first book against Gaudentius.

In some places which Valesius knew, and in some places which he knew not, the *Odium Theologicum*, like a poisonous Tree, has reared its head and spread its arms, and the neighbouring plants, instead of receiving shelter and protection, have sickened and withered beneath its baleful influence; yet was it a friendly covering to weeds and nettles, and the fox lodged safely at its root, and birds of ill omen screamed in its branches.

The groundless surmises of a Booby, or of a Bigot, have hurt many a man of sense, and qualified him to be register'd in an Appendix to *Pierius de Infelicitate Literatorum*. Where arbitrary power has prevailed, nothing has proved more profitable than either obsequious dulness, or a political palsy in the head, nodding and assenting to all,

Omnia

Omnia omnibus annuens;

as Catullus says of old age.

Opinions start up, and flourish, and fall into disgrace, and seem to die; but like Alpheus and Arethusa, they only disappear for a time, and rise into light, and into favour again.

What men call Heresy, is often a *local* and a *secular* crime; for what is Heresy in one century, and in one country, is found doctrine in another: and in some disputes, as in the Nestorian and the Pelagian controversies, to mention none besides, it is a nice thing to settle the boundaries between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy, and the only way to be safe is to have recourse to *implicit faith*, and to imitate the prudent Monk, who when Satan would have drawn him into heresy, by asking him what he believed of a certain point, answered, *Id credo quod credit Ecclesia*. But, *Quid credit Ecclesia?* said Satan. *Id quod ego credo*, replied the other:

ther : and Nestorius, if he would have slept in his own bed, should have said, *Id credo quod credit Sanctissimus Cyrillus*. Nestorius perhaps suffered no more than he deserved, because he had been a persecutor himself ; but such violent proceedings about such points, in different times and places, have inclined many persons to suspect that in those assemblies, some were talkative, quarrelsome, disingenuous, and overbearing, whilst others were passive Dolts, and *pedarii Senatores*. Every age has continued to produce wranglers of this kind, who now have the rest which they would not give other people ; and whose works follow them, and are at rest also.

Theodosius, the first, made severe laws against Heretics, about A. D. 380, and required of all his subjects that they should follow *the faith of Pope Damasus, and of Peter of Alexandria* ; for which and such like holy and wholesome ordinances, to be found in the Theodosian Code, he is extolled by Tillemont and many others,

as a Man of God. The best thing that can be said for him is, that he was not, on these occasions, as bad as his word, but threatened more than he performed. As to Damafus, whatsoever his faith was, it had been better for him to have lived and died a Presbyter, and one cannot say of him that he *fought a good fight*, when he fought for his Bishopric. His Braves slew many of the opposite party, and great was the fury of the religious Ruffians on both sides, in this holy war. Pious times, and much to be honoured, or envied !

What is to be done then with one who is, or who is accounted or whispered to be erroneous ? Why, *Distinguendum est* : you must not shed his blood, nor enrich yourself with his spoils ; but you may contrive other ways to bring him to a right mind, or to beggary : Ways, which resemble the method of Italian Assassins, to beat a man with satchells of sand : no blood is shed, and no bones are broken,

but the patient dies by the operation.

A Gentleman and a Scholar, as Valefius was, should have nothing to do with such *distinctions*: he ought rather to *distinguish* himself from the vulgar by a larger mind, by detesting persecution in every shape, were it only for this reason, that it is the bane of letters; by accounting all the Learned and Ingenious, wheresoever dispersed, or howsoever distressed, as brethren, and by loving and serving them, unless they be *rude* and *insolent*, *vitious* and *immoral*. Would Valefius have had such countrymen of his as Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Bochart, Blondel, Daillé, sent to inhabit the Bastille, or the Gallies? would he have had them directed, corrected, and insulted by a King's Confessor, and by persons who knew nothing besides their Breviary, if peradventure they knew that? This is not said to insinuate that the Gallican Church had not in his time, and in all times, many excellent men: nothing can be farther from the Author's thoughts;

thoughts; but the fomenters of oppression and persecution have been usually either void of letters, or learned Dunces at the best; and have accounted it an insufferable impudence in any man to be wiser, and more knowing than themselves. How could Valesius even name *Augustin*, who, ingenious as he certainly was, and respectable as he may be on other accounts, yet by the weak things which zeal, not ill-nature, urged him to say on this subject, tarnished in some degree his own reputation, and espoused a Cause full of absurdities which all the wit of man cannot defend, and of spots which all the water of the Ocean cannot wash off?

In this World, in this great Infirmary, among other distempers with which poor mortals are afflicted, is an intemperate zeal, or a spirit of party, which, when it arises to a certain pitch, is not to be restrained by the gentle bands of Reason: they are broken asunder, as a thread touched with fire. The Imagination then
plays

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plays her part, and raises an ugly Phantom, and the man spends his rage upon it, and sometimes by mistake strikes at his Friend,

---- *et fit pugil, et Medicum urget.*

Whilst the inconveniencies are no greater than this, we should patiently bear with the defects and disorders of such men, as with the frowardness of those who are in pain, and, as Seneca says, *more optimorum parentum, qui maledictis suorum infantium arrident*; like tender parents, who smile at the little perversities of their children; for there are *old* as well as *young* children, and perhaps more indulgence is due to the former than to the latter, since they cannot be spoiled by it, being past curing.

And here the civil Magistrate is of excellent use, to keep the peace among his fractious subjects, or at least to keep them from doing one another a bodily mischief. Forbear to draw your sword upon your adversary, says Minerva to Achilles; abuse him as much and as long as you will:

Ἀλλ' ἄγε λῆγ' ἐριδος, μηδὲ ζήφους ἔλκεο χεῖρ.
Ἀλλ' ἥπι' ἔπεςιν μὴ οὐκ εἰδίσσον, ὥς ἐσσεῖται περ.

But worse than Fanatical Fervour is the sedate Spirit of religious tyranny, arising from the lust of dominion, from fordid self-interest, and from atheistical politics, taking its measures, and pursuing its ends deliberately, void of all regard to truth, and of every tender sentiment of pity and humanity.

Thus Christianity degenerated, and Things went on from bad to worse, from folly to corruption, from weakness to wickedness; and then the Reformation made considerable amendments.

THE Christian World is now divided into the Reformed and Unreformed, or rather, into those who are not, and those who are members of the Church of Rome; The latter, as they deal least in reason, are the most disposed to use the illuminating arguments above-mentioned, which serve as a *succedaneum* in the place of reason. They would willingly force upon

us a mode of Christianity which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. Our religious establishment is far better and highly valuable, and we should be ungrateful if we did not esteem it; but the more simple and unexceptionable a religion is, the dearer will it be to those who understand it, and know what it is to enjoy it. In such a religion Charity would be a gainer, and Faith would be no loser, and it would be an easier task to satisfy doubters, to bring over infidels, and to re-unite believers. Before the Jews shall be converted, and the Gentiles flow into the Church, it is reasonable to suppose, that in the Christian world there will be more harmony, more mutual compliance and forbearance, than at present is to be found.

As the opposers of the Gospel have frequently had recourse to arguments *ad hominem*, and have taken advantage from modern systems, and from the writings of Divines of this or that persuasion; so the defenders of Revelation have often found themselves under a necessity of re-

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 ducing things to the venerable Christia-
 nity of the New Testament, and of ad-
 venturing no farther; and of declining the
 rest as not essential to the cause, and to
 the controversy.

The removal even of small defects, and
 improvement from good to better should
 always be the object of every man's warm
 wishes, and modest and peaceable endea-
 vours. Modest and peaceable they ought
 certainly to be; for there is a reverence
 due to the Public, to Civil Society, to
 Rulers and Magistrates, and to the Majo-
 rity; and decency and prudence are nei-
 ther *marks* of the *Beast*, nor that *worldly*
wisdom which stands condemned in the
 Gospel. In all such endeavours great
 care and discretion are requisite. Diffi-
 culties of various sorts present themselves,
 and difficulties not to be slighted, some of
 which shall be passed over in silence, be-
 cause they might possibly rather tend to
 irritate than to appease, and give an of-
 fence which should be industriously avoid-
 ed. There is a fear of consequences, ari-
 sing in cautious and diffident minds, a fear
 of

of losing what is valuable by seeking what is desireable; there is a wide-spread indifference towards every thing of a serious kind, and it is sadly encreased by that thoughtless dissipation, and those expensive follies which are so prevalent; there is also a settled dislike of the Gospel among too many, who are so ignorant, and so prejudiced, as to account Christianity itself to be of no use and importance.

These considerations may incline melancholy persons to imagine, that it is vain to expect amendments of a more refined nature, which seem to depend on a favourable concurrence of circumstances seldom united, and that we have not a foundation which can bear the superstructure.

It is much to be wished, that more effectual methods could be contrived to suppress vice, and to assist the willing, and to compel the unwilling to earn their bread honestly in the days of their youth and strength, and thereby to secure the peace of civil society, and to save from ruin so many poor creatures, of whom it

is hard to decide, whether they be more wicked, or more miserable, and whose crimes it would be far better to prevent, than to punish. If we could do any thing to remove, or to diminish these dreadful evils, moral and natural, the love of God and of Man would be our reward. But these are things, which perhaps are reserved for another generation :

---- *manet nostros felix ea cura nepotes.*

LET us in the mean time be thankful for what we have ; for our religion and liberties ; for a disposition which may be called national, to acts of charity public or private, and for that portion of learning, and that skill in liberal arts and sciences, which we possess, sufficient to secure us from the contempt of our Neighbours, though not to give us any claim to precedency. What we possess of erudition, must in a great measure be ascribed to the prevailing force of education, emulation, and custom ; for so it is, the love of letters, begun at *School*, and continued at the *University*, will usually accom-

P R E F A C E. xxxix

accompany a man through all the changing scenes of this life, improving his pleasures, and soothing his sorrows. Happy is it, that the pious and judicious liberality of our Ancestors founded and endowed *those two noble Seminaries*, which have been our best security against Ignorance, Superstition, and Infidelity.

ESTOTE PERPETUÆ!

An agreeable remembrance of former days presents itself,

*--- nec me meminisse pigebit Alumnæ,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit
artus.*

But let us also do justice to the Theological merits and useful labours of persons of another denomination in this country, of whom *Qui tales sunt, utinam essent nostri.*

POLITE LEARNING, or *Humanity* helps to open and enlarge the mind, and to give it a generous and liberal way of thinking, not what is vulgarly termed *Free-thinking*, and belongs to vulgar Understandings. *Learning* has a lovely child, called *Moderation*, and *Moderation* is not afraid

afraid or ashamed to shew her face in the Theological World; the number of her friends is encreased, and, whilst our civil Constitution subsists, they are in no danger of being sewed up in a bag with a Monkey, a Viper, a Wit, and a Free-thinker, and flung into the next river. That *Liberty of Prophefying* may prevail, and that *profane Licentiousness* may be restrained, are wishes which should always be joined together.

AND now, if men will say I persuade to Indifferency, I must bear it as well as I can. I am not yet without remedy, as they are; for patience will help me, and reason cannot cure them. The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, learned, charitable, and sweet-tempered Bishop, who, with a noble candour and generous openness, pleads the cause of *Liberty of prophefying*, and who never was censured for it by any man worth the mentioning, though probably he was reviled by those who called *Tillotson* an *Atheist*. If these two excellent *Prelates*, and *Erasmus* and *Chillingworth*, and *John Hales*, and *Locke*, and

Epi-

Episcopus, and *Grotius*, and many who shall not be named, had been contemporaries, and had met together FREELY to determine the important question, *What makes a man a Christian*, and *what profession of faith should be deemed sufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions which they might all have had on some Theological points. There have been others indeed, who on such an occasion would have given us an ample catalogue of *Necessaries*, the inference from which would have been, that it must needs be a very learned, and a very subtle, and a very ingenious thing to be a good Christian: for some of these *Necessaries* are of so refined a nature, that the Understanding can hardly lay hold of them, or the Memory retain them:

*Ter frustra comprehensa, manus effugit imago,
Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima
somno.*

Some of the best defenders of Christianity, down from Origen, no Saint, it seems,

seems, but worth a hundred and fifty Saints who might be mentioned, have been unkindly used and traduced by *injurious* Christians; for a harder epithet shall not be given to them. *Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?* Even civil war has ceased, when the common Enemy has been at the door, and mad Factions have joined to repel him, and to crown the deserving with laurel garlands; but Christians, when besieged by powerful and formidable Infidels, have found leisure and stomach to contend, whether the light which shone about Christ at his transfiguration was created or uncreated.

WHAT has been here suggested was with a view, not to dictate, no not even to advise, but only to moderate a prejudice which lies deep in the heart of an Englishman and a Churchman, that as his own vales, hills, rivers, and cities surpass in beauty and convenience any thing that the world affords; so his

own

own religious constitution is free even from all appearance of defect, and shadow of imperfection. This may be called, *amare Focos, et Lares*: the first we easily excuse, as an amiable weakness in the Englishman; let us shew the same favour to the other in the Churchman: but a little more candour, and a little less partiality would do us no harm. The Author aims at nothing beyond this, and therefore ENTERS INTO NO PARTICULARS. If the general intimation be proper, from whom can it come more properly than from one whose name or address can give no sanction to it, and raise no prejudices in its behalf; so that it must rely upon its own reasonableness, and stand destitute of all other recommendation?

As to particulars, his opinion would never be asked in such cases, and, if it were asked, he would perhaps, like Simonides, desire a day to consider, and then another, not thro' an affectation of humility, nor, if he may be credited, thro' hope of pleasing, or fear of displeasing, but through a real diffidence, and a consciousness of the difference

difference between discerning what may be speculatively right, and judging what is practicable. An application to Moral and Theological Studies will lead a person to some skill in the first, if he has a mind open to conviction; but the latter requires a genius and a knowledge of a different sort.

Besides all this, the middle course between too *low* and too *high*, between the *Serpent* and the *Altar*, is somewhat hard to keep:

*Neu te dexterioꝛ tortum declinet in Anguem,
Neve sinisterioꝛ pressam rota ducat ad Aram,*

Ovid. Met. ii. 138.

It may therefore be more adviseable for him to examine *himself* in serious silence, and to consider what passes *within*, and in his own little circle, where the circumference almost touches the centre;

Ὁ, τῇ οἱ ἐν μεγάροισι κακόντ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκ'.

which single line, according to the wise Socrates, contains a complete system of philosophy.

IF he desires, that others would receive with Christian candour these suggestions, which, whatsoever they be, proceed from a good intention, and are not the language of self-interest, he desires no more than he is very willing to return. But be that as it will, he is not at all disposed to contend about them.

Errare potest: litigiosus esse non vult.

Such contentions beget, or keep up enmity; and he had rather glide through the world, like a shadow, obscurely and quietly, and meet with *few* censurers; for to have *none*, is a blessing which never was designed for a writer on Ecclesiastical subjects.

For this, and for other good reasons, Authors should avoid, as much as they can, replies and rejoinders, the usual consequences of which are, loss of time, and loss of temper. Happy is he who is engaged in controversy with his own passions, and comes off superior; who makes it his endeavour that his follies and weaknesses

xlvi PREFACE.

nesses may die before him, and who daily meditates on mortality and immortality.

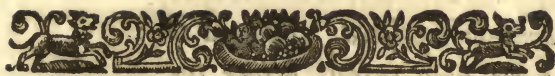
LET us hear a wise man, who thus speaks to himself, and to us : *May my last hours find me occupied in amending and improving my heart ! that I may be able to say to God, Have I violated thy commands ? have I ever accused thee, and complained of thy government ? I have been sick and infirm, because it was thy appointment ; and so have others, but I willingly. I have been poor, according to thy good pleasure, but contented. I have had no dignities ; thou hast withheld them, and I have not thought them even worthy of a wish. Didst thou see me sad and dejected on these accounts ? Did I not appear before thee with a serene countenance, and cheerfully complying with thy sacred orders ? Deal with me, and dispose of me as thou wilt ; thy will is mine : and if any one shall say that thou hast been unkind to me, I will defend and maintain thy cause against him. Wilt thou that I depart hence ? I go ; and I return thee my*
5 *sincerest*

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Sincerest thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call me hither to this great assembly and entertainment, and hast permitted me to contemplate thy works, to admire and adore thy providence, and to comprehend the wisdom of thy conduct. May death seize me writing and meditating such things!

It is needless to say whence these reflections are taken; the Owner is so well known: but they can never be too often cited, and if the Stoical self-sufficiency which breathes in some parts of them were corrected by Christian humility, they would be to many of us a *proper Lesson* for the day, and remind us of the resignation that is due to an all-wise and all-gracious Providence.

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REMARKS

COAST BIRDS

The following list of birds is taken from the
list of birds of the coast of California
compiled by W. L. G. and published in 1891.
The list is arranged in alphabetical order of the
English names of the birds. The scientific names
are given in italics. The numbers in parentheses
indicate the number of specimens of each bird
in the collection. The birds are divided into
two groups: those which are common to the
coast of California and those which are
found only on the coast of California.

ALBANY, N. Y.
JANUARY 1892



REMARKS

ON

Ecclesiastical History.



It has been often observed that Christianity made its appearance in the most proper time, and under a favourable concurrence of circumstances. Something has been said on this head in my fourth *Disc.* on the *Christian Religion*: what is now offered to the Reader is partly a continuation of the same subject, and these *Remarks* are intended, in some measure, as a supplement to those *Discourses*.

B

Christi-

2 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Christianity began to gain ground in Judæa and its neighbourhood in the reign of Tiberius, a very wicked prince, but who was so occupied with his lusts and with his cruelty towards considerable persons whom he hated, envied, or feared, and was also naturally so slow and indolent, that either he heard little of this remote and rising sect, or thought it beneath his notice, and so did it no harm.

It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity towards Christ, and accounted him a man unjustly accused, and an extraordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a Hero, and the son of some Deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius; but it is not at all likely * that Tiberius proposed to the Senate that Christ should be deified, and that the Senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favourably disposed towards

* See *Le Clerc Hist. Eccl.* p. 324.

Christ,

Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians. This report rests principally upon the authority of Tertullian, who was very capable of being deceived, and Eusebius had it from him, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2. The ancient Christians might have been misinformed in this, as in some other points. Tiberius was of an irreligious disposition and a fatalist, and little disposed to encrease the number of the Gods and the burden of Atlas, ^b *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior : quippe addictus mathematicæ ; persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi.* He hated foreign superstitions, Ægyptian and Jewish rites, ^c *Externas cæremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit.* He ^d and the Senate had expelled the Jews from Rome, and about the time of Christ's crucifixion he had destroyed an illustrious family, for this, amongst other reasons, that divine honours had been paid to one Theophanes an ancestor of theirs : ^e *Datum erat crimini quod Theopha-*

^b Sueton. Tiber. 69. ^c Sueton. Tiber. 36.

^d Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus. ^e Tacitus Ann.

vi. 18.

4 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

nem Mitylenæum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset : quodque defuncto Theophani cælestes honores Græca adulatio tribuerat. Augustus commended Caius for not worshipping at Jerusalem : ^f *Caium nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens, apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset, collaudavit :* and Tiberius made it a rule, *omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observare*, as he says of himself in *Tacitus Ann. iv. 37.* Observe also that the Jews persecuted the Apostles and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.

The custom which the Romans had to deify and adore their emperors, most of them after their decease, and some of them during their lives, even though they were the vilest of mankind, the apotheosis of Antinous, Adrian's favourite, the contempt which many emperors, as Tiberius,

^f Sueton. Aug. 93.

and Caius, and ^g Nero shewed towards their Gods, the endeavour of ^h Heliogabalus to suppress the worship of the ancient deities, and to introduce a ridiculous God of his own, the strange Ægyptian deities which had crept into Italy, and were there adored by some and detested by others, the liberty which ⁱ many learned persons had taken with the popular religion, these things had a tendency to wean the Pagans by slow degrees from their attachment to idolatry, and to facilitate the worship of one God and Father of all, who by his Son, or his Word, reconciled to himself and instructed mankind, and by his Spirit assisted virtuous minds in their

^g Religionum usquequaque contemtor, præter unius Deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprexit, ut urinâ contaminaret. *Suet. Ner. 56.*

^h Heliogabalum in Palatino monte juxta ædes imperatorias consecravit, eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum, et Vestæ ignem, et Palladium, et ancilia, et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum, et id agens, ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. &c. *Lampridius 3.*

ⁱ It is related somewhere of Diogenes the Cynic, that, to shew his contempt of sacrifices, he took a louse, and crack'd it upon the altar of Diana.

6 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

progress to wisdom and happiness, as a religion more simple, and noble, and philosophical, and reasonable than Paganism,

The Senate, says Dio, ordered the temples of Isis and Serapis to be pulled down, and afterwards would not suffer any to be erected *intra pomerium*. Τὰς νάαυς, ἃς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς ἐπεποιήητο, καθελεῖν τῇ Βέλῃ ἔδοξεν· ἃ ᾧ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν, ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω τῶ πωμηρίου σφᾶς ἰδρύσαντο. XL. p. 142.

A little after the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, the *Haruspices* ordered the temples of these deities to be demolished. *Dio* XLII. p. 196.

How much the goddess Isis and her sacred rites were despised may be seen in Propertius ii. 24. Lucan viii. 831. ix. 158. Juvenal vi. 489. 526. ix. 22. not to mention several others. The apotheosis of the Roman Emperors is made the subject of the utmost contempt and ridicule by Seneca in his *Αποκολοκωτώσεις*.

The Romans knew not much of Christianity, and in a great measure overlooked

ed it, till its professors were so considerably increased, that they could not easily be destroyed.

Christianity at first was more likely to prosper under bad than under good Emperors, if these were tenacious of their religious rites and ceremonies. The bad Emperors had usually other crimes and other mischief in view, and no leisure to plague such a little sect, little when compared to Paganism.

And accordingly from the death of Christ to Vespasian, for about the space of thirty seven years, the Romans did not much mind the progress of the Gospel. They were ruled by weak, or frantic, and vitious Emperors, the Magistrates and Senators, and every worthy man of any note stood in continual fear for their own lives. Under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius the empire was a scene of confusion, desolation, and misery.

Nero indeed destroyed several Christians at Rome, but it was for a supposed crime of which all the world knew them

8 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

to be innocent ; so that this cruel treatment raised compassion, and rather did service than harm to the Christian cause, and the persecution was soon over.

If Claudius and the Senate in his time had known the nature of the Gospel in this point, that it was directly opposite to the national religion, and that, if it prospered, Paganism must decline and come to nothing, and that every Christian thought himself bound to spread his opinions by all arts and means which were not immoral, they would have endeavoured to suppress it effectually ; but it lay screened then under Judaism, and the Jews had leave to worship God in their own way.

The Christians who suffered under Nero are called *malefici* by Suetonius c. 16. that is, forcerers, magicians. Probably the Pagans had heard of their miracles, and ascribed them to magic arts, which yet was a kind of indirect acknowledgment of them.

Juvenal iii. 41.

*Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio — motus
Astrorum ignoro: funus promittere patris
&c.*

where the old Scholiast says: *motus astro-
rum*: Maleficus *non sum*. But here I
doubt it should be, *Mathematicus non sum*,
which is a more literal interpretation.

*Nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus ha-
bebit.*—

*Consulit iëtericæ lento de funere matris,
Ante tamen de te &c.* vi. 562,

With the Reader's leave, I will step out
of my way to correct a passage in this
Poet, XIII. 64.

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bi-
membri*

*Hoc monstrum puero, vel mirandis sub aratro
Piscibus inventis, et fætæ comparo mulæ,
Sollicitus, tanquam lapides effuderit imber,
Examenumque apium longa confederit uva
Culmine delubri, tanquam in mare fluxerit
amnis*

Gurgitibus miris, et lactis vortice torrens.

Henni-

10 *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*

Henninius has given in the text *mirandis*. Lubin says we must read *mirantis*, not *miranti*. Gataker conjectures *liranti*. These honest men were all disposed to feed upon acorns, whilst other copies had *miranti*, which was very well explained by Britannicus, *sub aratro miranti, ut rei inanimæ dederit sensum*. *Miranti aratro* is just such an expression as *irato sistro*, XIII. 93. *esuriens ramus olivæ*, XIII. 99. &c. &c.

I need not observe how flat and unmeaning and unpoetical is the expression, *Gurgitibus miris*, and how ill it comes in after *miranti*. The Poet intended to speak of a prodigy, of a river running bloody, which together with showers of blood has been often mentioned amongst prodigies. See *Cicero De Divin.* 1. 43. The word which he used was somewhat uncommon, and therefore lost, and ill supplied. He wrote, I believe,

Gurgitibus miniis, et lactis vortice torrens.

miniis, that is *sanguineis, rubris instar mini*. The adjective *minius* or *mineus*, from
minium,

minium, red lead, vermillion, is twice used by Apuleius, *Fulgentium rosarum minius color*, and, *Cervicula psittaci circulo mineo*. Faber's Thesaurus. If there were no example extant of the adjective *minius*, that would not be a sufficient reason to reject the emendation, since the Greek and Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal himself xi: 94. according to the best copies ;

Qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret.

113.

Litore ab Oceano Gallis venientibus ---

Catullus, LXIII. according to Scaliger's emendation,

Nimirum Oceano se ostendit Noctifer imbre.

And hence Milton, 1.

hugest that swim th' Ocean stream.

Minium in Greek is μίλτ@, and the Sibylline Oracles speak thus of a bloody shower ;

Καὶ ψεκάδες πίπτωσιν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, οἷά τε
μίλτ@.

The

The old Scholiaſt ſays, *Gurgitibus miris*] *Aut lacteis, aut ſanguineis*. But you have nothing in Juvenal that answers to *ſanguineis*, unleſs you change *miris* into *miniis*, which is alſo a very flight alteration. The Poet might have ſo contrived it as to have uſed *ſanguis* or *cruor*, or their adjectives, but *Gurgitibus miniis* pleaſed him better, as it had a more ludicrous caſt, and he choſe rather to ſtain his river with red oker than with blood. It threw a contempt upon portents and prodigies, things which he was not much diſpoſed to believe. Lucian, or whoſoever he be who wrote the treatiſe *De Dea Syria*, ſays that the river Adonis was ſtained with blood every year, ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστος ἔτερος αἰμάσσει, καὶ τὴν χροὴν ὀλέσας, ἐπρίπει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ φονεῖται τὸ πολλὸν τῷ πελάγεος.—*Illud flumen ſingulis annis cruentatur, ſuoque amiſſo colore in mare effunditur, et magnam maris partem inficit.* 8. He adds that an inhabitant of Byblus explained the phænomenon thus: ὁ Ἀδωνίς ὁ ποταμὸς, ὃ ζῆνε, ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἔρχεται· ὁ δὲ Λιβάνος κάρλα ξανθογέως ἐστὶ· ἀνεμῶν ὡς

ὡν τρηχέες ἐκείνησι τῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰσάμφοι τὴν γῆν τῷ ποταμῷ ὀπιφέρουσι, ἔσσαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μιλιώδεα· ἢ ὅ γῃ μιν αἰμώδεα τίθησι.

Adonis flumen, o hospes, venit per Libanum. At Libanus multum rubicundæ terræ habet. Venti ergo vehementes, qui statos illis diebus flatus habent, terram flumini inferunt minio valde similem. Hæc illud terra reddit sanguineum.

This account has been since confirmed by Maundrel in his *Voyages*.

Sanguinem pluisset, says Cicero, senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam fluvium fluxisse sanguine. — Sed et decoloratio quædam ex aliqua contagione terrena potest sanguini similis esse. De Div. ii. 27.

Some may think that we ought to read *Gurgitibus miniis, aut lactis vortice torrens*, instead of *et*. But, unless the best Manuscripts deceive us, *et* is often used in a disjunctive sense, and implies much the same as *aut*; and likewise *que*, where we might seem more proper. Of this I gave some examples in the *Miscell. Observ.* Vol. ii. p. 255.

AMONGST the miracles recorded in the Acts of the Apostles is the casting out of evil Spirits. In the New Testament, where any circumstances are added concerning the Dæmoniacs, they are generally such as shew that there was something præternatural in the distemper; for these disordered persons agreed in one story, and paid homage to Christ and to his Apostles, which is not to be expected from madmen, of whom some would have worshipped, and others would have reviled Christ, according to the various humour and behaviour observable in such persons.

One reason for which the divine Providence should suffer evil Spirits to exert their malignant powers so much at that time, might be to give a check to Sadduceism amongst the Jews, and to Epicurean atheism amongst the Gentiles, and to remove in some measure these two great impediments to the reception of the Gospel.

T H E

THE first miracle after the ascension of Christ, namely the gift of tongues, was of singular and extraordinary service to Christianity. It increased the number of believers at Jerusalem, and engaged the admiration and favour of the people so much, that the enemies of Christ could not accomplish their designs against the disciples, and it served to convey the Gospel to distant regions.

It has been said that the gift of tongues continued for a considerable time to be absolutely necessary for the spreading of Christianity : but it is to be observed that the Scriptures never say so. We may therefore judge for ourselves how far it was needful.

Now at the time of Pentecost there was a great resort of Jews and Profelytes from various and remote countries. The gift of tongues conferred upon the disciples served to convince and convert many of these persons, and these persons served to carry Christianity with them to their several

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veral homes. Afterwards the Æthiopian eunuch, Cornelius the Roman Centurion, Sergius Paulus the Proconsul, Dionysius the Areopagite, and many others were converted. By these persons, and by the travels of some of the Apostles and of their disciples, Christianity was spread in the Roman empire and in the East; and then the Greek language, together with human industry in learning other tongues, might be sufficient to convey the Gospel as far and as soon as Providence intended.

Apollonius Tyaneus, as ^k Philostratus relates, pretended to understand all languages without having learned them. If Philostratus may be credited in this, it is probable that Apollonius, knowing that the Christians claimed this gift, took the same honour to himself. He flourished in the times of Nero and of Domitian, and it is to be supposed that he could speak a little of several tongues, for he was a man of parts and a strolling vagabond.

^k Vit. Apoll. p. 25. ed. Par. or Euseb. Contr. Hier. p. 517.

Philostratus also assures us, that, when the mother of Apollonius was in labour, the swans came to attend and assist her ; for which he produces no voucher, says Eusebius in Hierocl. p. 517. Now Philostratus, or whosoever was the author of this pretty story, stole the thought from Callimachus :

Κύνιοι δὲ θεῶν μέλποντες αἰδοῖ
Μηόνιον Πακτωλὸν ἐκυκλώσαντο λιπόντες
Ἐβδομάκις περὶ Δῆλον· ἐπήεισαν δὲ λοχεῖν
Μισσῶν ὄρνιθες, αἰοιδόταροι πέλεηνων.

Hymn. in Delum, 249. where these poetical birds perform the same office to Latona.

Clemens Alexandrinus cites Plato as saying that the Gods or Dæmons had the use of language, and that it appeared from the discourses of Dæmoniacs, since in those possessions it was not the man himself, but the Dæmon in him who spake by the man's voice. Ὁ Πλάτων δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διάλεκτον ἀπονέμει τινά· μάλιστα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνειράτων τεκμαιρόμεν· καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν· ἄλλως δὲ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίωνων, οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔ

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φθέγγονται φωνήν ἔδ'ε Διόλεκτον, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπεισιέντων δαιμόνων. Strom. i. p. 405. Oxon. Edit. I may have overlooked it, but I never could find this place in Plato. There is something a little like it in Porphyry, where Apollo says of himself,

Ἄυλ'ε δ' ἐκ βροτέοιο φίλην ἔτεκνώσατο φωνήν.^a

Jucundam expirat mortali e gutture vocem.

On which the Philosopher observes, Πνεῦμα γὰρ τὸ καλὸν, ἢ ἀπόρροια ἐκ τῆς ἐπερρανίης δυνάμεως, εἰς ὀργανικὸν σῶμα ἢ ἔμψυχον εἰσελεθῆσα, βάσει χρωμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, Διὰ τῶ σῶματι, ὡς ὀργάνου, φωνὴν ἀποδίδωσιν. *Spiritus enim e loco superiore delapsus, illaque adeo particula, quæ cælesti virtute in corpus suis instructum facultatibus animatumque defluxit, animum veluti basim aliquam sortita, vocem per corpus veluti per quoddam instrumentum edit.* Apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* v. 8. These Δαιμονῶνες, of whom the Philosophers speak, were persons inspired, or supposed to be inspired by Apollo, Cybele, or other Dæmons. In later times the

^a φίλῳ φωνῇ may be translated *suam vocem*. ἔτεκνώσατο for. ἔτεχνώσατο, vel, ἔτεχυνήσατο, vel, τεχνήσατο.

speaking of new languages has been reckoned one of the proofs of being possessed with a dæmon. See Bayle's Dict. *Grandier*, and Michael Psellus de *Operat. Dæmonum*, and some instances collected by Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* p. 704, 5. That from Fernelius is mentioned by Le Clerc, in his extracts from Cudworth, *Bibl. Chois.* v. p. 109. He has made a small mistake when he says, *Un Melancholique que les Médecins avoient traité en vain, et qui ne savoit ni Grec, ni Latin, se mit a parler ces deux langues.* Fernelius only says that the young gentleman did not understand Greek.

To learn a foreign language so far as to understand it when we read or hear it, is a skill which is not to be acquired without much time and pains. To speak it readily and pronounce it rightly, is still more difficult: it is what many persons can never accomplish, though they have all the proper helps, as we may see every day; nor can any study and application acquire this habit, unless there be an opportunity of conversing frequently with those whose tongue it is.

If the Apostles on the day of Pentecost had expressed themselves improperly, or with a bad accent, as most people do, when they speak a living language which is not natural to them, the hearers, who at that time were not converted to Christianity, would have suspected some fraud, would have taken notice of such * faults, and censured them ; which since they did not, it is to be supposed that they had nothing of that kind to object.

WITHIN forty years after the resurrection of Christ came on the destruction of Jerusalem, a most important event, upon which the credit and the fate of Christianity depended. Christ had foretold it so expressly, that, if he had failed, his religion could not have supported itself. But his predictions were exactly accomplished, and proved him to be a true prophet.

* As the Jews did to Peter, when they said to him, *Thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech bewrayeth thee.*

Christ

Christ fixed the time also, saying that the days were at hand, and would come before that generation should pass away, and whilst the daughters of Jerusalem, or their children, should be living.

The completion of Christ's predictions has been fully shewed by many writers, particularly by Whitby. To him I refer the reader, on Matt. xxiv. and shall here insert in the notes some * remarks on this

* Our Saviour foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, applies to the Jews in a prophetic sense this proverbial saying, *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*, Mat. xxiv. 28.

The Jewish writers had this maxim among them, that wicked men while they live are to be reckoned amongst the dead. See Drusius on Mat. iv. 4. and viii. 22. See also Luke xv. 32. Ephes. ii. 1. Tim. i. v. 6. But wicked men are spoken of in Scripture under this figure with still greater propriety, if for their crimes they were devoted to death, and condemned to it by a divine or human sentence.

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part of the subject, which Dr. Pearce the Bishop of Bangor was so kind as to com-

Gen. xx. 3. By the word *carcase*, Christ means the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven.

In Eusebius E. H. iii. 23. τέθνηκε is explained by Θεῷ τέθνηκε· ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ληστής.

Νυνὶ δὲ δημαγωγεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖς. Aristoph. Ran. Act. i. Sc. 7. in choro.

See L. Capell. and Grotius on Mat. viii. 22. who says, Νεκροὶ vocantur homines a vera disciplina, quæ animi vita est, alieni. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ (ait Clemens Alex. Strom. v.) βαρβάρῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ νεκροὺς καλεῖσι τὰς ἐκπεσούσας τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ καθυποτάξαντας τὸν νῦν τοῖς πάθεσι ψυχικοῖς. Hæc quoque hæc, ut alia, ab Orientis philosophia Pythagoras, τὰς τῶν Ἰσθαίων δόξας μιμνέμεν, ut de eo scribit Hermippus: siquidem καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἑβραίων ἀφίκετο, ut de eo ex Diogene scribit Malchus; unde mos ortus ut his qui cœtu Pythagoreorum essent ejecti, cenotaphia stru-

municate;

municate ; observing only that Christ foretold,

erentur, quod Hipparcho cuidam factum legimus, &c.

Under the metaphor of *eagles* which fly swiftly and seize upon their prey violently, conquerors with their armies are frequently spoken of in Scripture. Jeremiah *Lament.* iv. 19. says, *Our persecutors are swifter than eagles* ; and Hosea viii. 1. says of the king of Assyria, *He shall come as an eagle against the house of the Lord, because they have transgressed his covenant.* Ezekiel xvii. 3. pronounces a parable under the same figure ; *Thus saith the Lord, A great eagle, with great wings full of feathers, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar ;* which the prophet thus explains ver. 12. *Behold the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof.*

Nor must it be forgotten, that when Moses *Deut.* xxviii. 49, &c. threatens the Jews with the destruction of their nation, if they would not hearken unto the words of the Lord, the description of the calamities, with which he

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1. The total destruction of the city.
2. Of the temple.

threatens them, answers so exactly in the most material parts to the final destruction of that people by the Romans, that this seems to have been chiefly and principally in the intention of the prophet; and there the destroying army is spoken of under this very emblem of an eagle; *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose language thou shalt not understand.*

The sense of the proverb then is this; wheresoever the wicked Jews are, there will the Roman eagles, the destroying armies, follow them; and whithersoever they fly, ruin and desolation will overtake them.

Christ had been foretelling to his disciples the destruction of the Jewish nation, and the vengeance which he was to take upon them for their obstinate refusal of him and his doctrine. This he expressed by *the coming of the Son of man*; and he told them many particulars of what was to happen before and at that great day of visitation. Among others he ac-

3. The

3. The coming of false Christs and false prophets, magicians and forcerers, leading the people to the desarts.

quainted them that there would be some impostors who should set up themselves for the Christ or Messiah of the Jews: *Wherefore,* says he, *if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth: behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not.* i. e. none but false Christs will be found there. The true coming of Christ will be of another nature; *not with observation,* Luke xvii. 20. not with a display of his person, but of his power in the vengeance which he is to take upon the Jews; not restrained to the desert or the chambers, not confined to holes and corners, nor to any one part of Judæa, but extended through every province of it; *for as the lightning,* says he, *cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the son of man be,* i. e. as extensive and universal over the land, as the lightning shines; the comparison being brought in to shew not so much its swiftness, as its wide extent and compass: *for wheresoever the carcase, &c.* In St. Luke

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4. Famines.

5. Pestilences.

when our Lord had been describing this calamity which was to befall the Jews, his disciples asked him, *Where Lord?* where shall this happen? to which he replied, *Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.* If then his words contain any direct answer to the question, they must be understood as pointing out the place and extent of the calamity.

This prophecy was pronounced by our Saviour near forty years, and recorded by St. Matthew near thirty years before the event was to take place. And, for the literal accomplishment of it, we have the authority of Josephus. He was a General on the side of the Jews in the beginning of that war, and a prisoner at large in the Roman army during the rest of it: he was a party concerned in much of the calamity of his country-men, and an eye-witness to almost all of it. And besides this it is to be considered, that if he ever had heard of this prophecy, which it is probable he had not, yet as he was a Jew by religion, and a Jewish Priest too, he is

6. Earth-

6. Earthquakes.

7. Fearful sights and great signs from heaven.

therefore a witness not to be suspected of partiality in this case, and was every way qualified to give us an exact history of those times; which he has accordingly done, by describing very punctually all the particulars of that terrible destruction.

From his account it may be observed, that the Roman army entered into Judæa on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east and shining even unto the west.

In the course of his history he gives us a very particular account of the prodigious numbers of such as were slain in Judæa properly so called, in Samaria, the two Galilees, and the region beyond Jordan: and he confirms the prophecy of Christ by making a remarkable observation to this purpose, that *there was not any the least part of Judæa, which did not par-*

8. The

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8. The persecution of the Apostles.

9. The apostasy of some Christians.

take of the calamities of the capital city. B. J. v. 3. There, at Jerusalem, the last and finishing stroke was given to the ruin of the church and state; for after a long and sharp siege, in which famine killed as many as the sword, in which the judgments of heaven appeared as visibly as the fury of man, in which intestine factions helped on the desolation which the foreign armies completed, Jerusalem was at last taken, not then a city, but a confused mass of ruins, affording a sadder scene of calamity than the world had ever seen, and exactly fulfilling the words of Christ, Mat. xxiv. 21. Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world unto this time, no nor ever shall be. To which Josephus bears express testimony, and says that the calamities of all nations from the beginning of the world were exceeded by those which befell his countrymen on this occasion. B. J. i. 1.

Christ foretold, that Jerusalem should be *encircled with armies*, Luke xxi. 20. and accordingly it was besieged and taken by the

10. A pre-

10. A preservation of the faithful.

11. The spreading of the Gospel through the Roman world.

Romans: a circumstance which had no necessary connection with the revolt and conquest of Judæa. For at the time when Christ spake this, the Roman governor resided in that city, and had troops there sufficient to keep it in obedience; whence it was more probable, that Jerusalem would have continued in a quiet subjection to the Romans, whatever troubles might be raised in other parts of the Jewish dominions.

He foretold, that the Roman ensigns, called *the abomination of desolation* ver. 15. should be seen *standing in the holy place* or temple: an event not to be foreseen by human skill, because very unlikely to happen. The great care, which the Jews took at other times not to defile that holy place, and the small strength which it had to defend them long from the Roman arms, as they had twice experienced in the memory of man, were both circumstances, which in all human appearance would have kept them from the rash experiment. And

12. The

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12. The Roman standards defiling the holy place.

yet, against all probability, they fled to the temple, and there made a last and desperate resistance. Having thus defiled it with their own arms, they made it necessary for the Romans to follow them into the sanctuary ; so that they took it by storm, and of consequence caused their military ensigns to be *seen standing* there.

Christ foretold *Matt. xxiv. 2.* that when the temple should be taken, *there should not be left there one stone upon another that should not be thrown down.* And yet the building was so magnificent, that it was esteemed for cost, for art, and beauty one of the wonders of the world ; whence it was natural to expect, that the Romans, according to their usual custom amidst their conquests, would endeavour to preserve it safe and entire. And Josephus B. J. vi. 2. 4. tells us, that Titus laboured with all his power to save it, but that his soldiers, as if moved *δαίμονίῳ ὄρεμῃ*, by a divine impulse, would not hearken to his positive and repeated orders, but set fire to every part of it, till

13. The

13. The city encompassed with armies, walls, and trenches.

it was entirely consumed: and then the ruins were removed, and the soil on which it stood was ploughed up, and not one stone left upon another. See Drusius and Calmet on *Mat.* xxiv. 2. and Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebr.* on the same text, where he quotes for proof of this the *Taanith* of Maimonides, c. 4. Josephus indeed in B. J. vii. 1. speaking of the temple, says only that it was demolished, without expressly telling us that the foundations of it were digged up. And yet it seems probable that some parts at least of those foundations were digged up, from what he says there in the following chapter concerning one Simon. He lived in Jerusalem, in the upper part of it, near to the temple: and, when the city was taken, he endeavour'd to escape by letting himself down with some of his companions into a cavern; where when they had digged but a little way for themselves, he crept out from underground in that very place where the temple had before stood. Therefore either he crept out in that hollow where the foundation had stood; or, if it was in any other

14. The

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14. The retiring of the Christians to the mountains.

part of the temple, the foundations must have been removed there at least where he work'd his way through the ground from the outside to the inside of the temple.

To these circumstances we may add the time. *This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled*, ver. 34. and again *Mat. xvi. 28. There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom*; pointing out to his hearers, that this train of calamities was not to come upon the Jews immediately, nor yet so late but that some then living should see the accomplishment of his prophecies. The fixing of this circumstance had no connection with any thing which might serve for the foundation of human conjecture.

He also foretold, that *the Gospel of his kingdom should be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations*. ver. 14. before this end of the Jewish state should come; than which no circumstance was less likely in all human appearance to happen, if we consider

15. The

15. The greatest tribulation that ever was known.

16. The time when these things should happen.

17. The comparative happiness of the barren women, when a mother killed and eat her own child.

18. Wars and rumours of wars, nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.

19. The sea and the waves roaring.

the time when this prophecy was delivered; for we find that within two days afterwards, as himself foretold, *Mat. xxvi. 2, and 31, all his disciples forsook him and fled* upon his being apprehended. It could not be expected that they who had deserted his person when alive, would adhere to his cause after his death, and with so much steadiness and courage, as to preach a crucified Jesus in spite of all opposition through all the nations of the then known earth. And yet this they did with great success, so that St. Paul could say to the Colossians with truth, that the Gospel was come unto them, as it was in all the world. i. 6.

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20. The dispersion of the captive Jews through all nations.

21. The continuance of the desolation.

22. A shortning of the days of vengeance, for the sake of the Elect.

All which things came to pass.

To bring about this great event, and to certify posterity of its truth, God raised up an illustrious and worthy Prince to accomplish it, and an illustrious Historian to record it, to record the things of which he was an eye-witness, and in which he had born a considerable share.

Vespasian was lifted up from obscurity to the empire, he was strangely spared and promoted and employed by Nero who hated him. If he had not put an end to the civil wars, and to the great calamities of the empire, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed at the time foretold by Christ. *Lucem caliganti reddidit mundo*, says Q. Curtius, speaking most probably of Vespasian, x. 9.

Josephus

Josephus assured Vespasian that he and his son Titus should be emperors, after Nero, and some others, who should reign only a short time. *B. J. iii. 8. Unus ex nobilibus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam imperatore.* Sueton. *Tit. 5.* When Josephus made this declaration there was no appearance of such an event. He says that he had received the knowledge of these things in a dream, which was accounted by the Jews to be a lower degree of prophecy, and to have been sometimes granted to them, after the prophetic *afflatus* had ceased at the death of Malachi. Josephus says that Hyrcanus had been favoured with such kind of revelations. *Ant. XIII. 12. Bell. Jud. 1. 2.* He records a prophetic dream of his own, in his *Life* § 42. He mentions also strange deliverances vouchsafed to himself from seemingly unavoidable destruction, *B. J. iii. 8.* He had taken shelter in a cave with forty desperate persons, who were determined to perish rather

D 2

than

than to yield, and who proposed to pay him the compliment of killing him first, as the most honourable man in the company. When he could not divert them from their frantic resolution of dying, he had no other refuge than to engage them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other, and at last only he and another remained, whom he persuaded to surrender to the Romans. I would not willingly be imposed upon, or impose upon the reader; but I leave it to be considered whether in all this there might not be something extraordinary, as both Vespasian and Josephus were designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel and of our Lord. The same Providence which raised up and conducted Cyrus, and preserved the ^b rash Macedonian conqueror from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire, that the prophecies might be accomplished,

^b I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprize, though very bold, was perhaps neither rash, nor rashly conducted.

might

might take the *Roman emperor* and the *Jewish writer* under a singular protection for reasons of no less importance. The Historian was on all accounts a proper person to deliver these things to posterity, and one to whom the Pagans, the Jews, and the Christians could have no reasonable objection; he was of a noble family, he had enjoyed the advantage of a good education, he had acted in the war as a General, he had much learning, singular abilities, a fair character, and a great love for his own country. The service which he has done to Christianity was on his side plainly undesigned, he never gives even the remotest hint that the Jews suffered for rejecting the Messiah. His book had the approbation of Vespasian, and Titus, Herod, and Agrippa, and of several persons of distinction, and he wanted not adversaries who would have exposed him if he had advanced untruths; so that though in some other points he might have been capable of deceiving and of being deceived, yet as to the transactions of his own times

* Contr. Apion. i. 9.

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he must pass, in general, for a candid, impartial, accurate writer, and has passed for such in the opinion of the most competent judges.

But though we are indebted to him for several particulars, which surprisingly agree with the predictions of Christ, yet the destruction of the Jewish state rests not upon his single authority, but upon ancient history and general consent, and is a fact which never was questioned.

What Josephus says concerning the outrageous wickedness and strange infatuation of many of the Jews, must be true; the facts related by him sufficiently shew it: but the reason for which he dwelt so much on a subject so disagreeable to one who loved his nation, seems to have been this; he knew not how to account otherwise for God's giving up his own people to such calamities, and seeming to fight against them himself, and he was afraid of consequences which Pagans and Christians would draw from it against the Jewish religion. Cicero, because it served his purpose,

pose, had inferred from the calamities which in his days befell the Jews, that they were a nation not acceptable to the Deity. *Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat : nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis : quam cara diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata. Pro Flacco, 28. Some would read *serva*. Dr. Thirlby conjectured *servit* : and I find it so cited by Hammond in his notes on *Revel. XIII. 5*.*

In his *Antiquities* he takes too great liberties with sacred history, and accommodates it too much to the taste of the Gentiles, which yet probably he did to recommend his oppressed and unhappy nation to the favour of the Greeks and Romans. There are few of his suppressions, or alterations, or embellishments, for which a prudential reason might not be assigned. In his *History* he shews an instance of his

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art, in complimenting Titus without saying an untruth : he relates that Titus engaged with the Jews, who had made a folly and fought desperately, and that Titus himself slew twelve of their bravest men, who headed the rest. He says not how he slew them ; but Suetonius tells us that Titus, at the siege of Jerusalem, shot twelve of the foremost of the enemies with so many arrows. The circumstances give great reason to suppose that both relate the same story.

Καὶ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτὰς τῶν προμάχων ἀναιρῆ.
et ipse quidem sternit duodecim adversi ag-
minis propugnatores. B. J. v. vi. 6.

Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione,
duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum
confecit iectibus. Sueton. Tit. 5.

The history of the Jewish war by Josephus seems to be a commentary upon the prophecies of Christ. Josephus, amongst other particulars, gives a distinct account of the *fearful sights and great signs from heaven*, which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, and Tacitus has confirmed the
narration

narration of Josephus. If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.

Let us proceed to shew that the predictions of Christ were extant before the destruction of Jerusalem, before A. D. 70. for this is the important point.

The books and epistles of the New Testament were written by disciples of Christ, or their companions.

We cannot suppose that any persons, of whatsoever abilities, could have forged them after the decease of the Apostles, for,

These ^d writings contain various and nu-

^d Disc. vi. on the Christ. Rel.

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merous incidents of time, place, persons, names, and things; occasional discourses, differences of style, epistles in answer to epistles, and passages cited from those which they answer, directions and observations suited to the state of several Churches, seeming contradictions, and real difficulties which might have easily been avoided, things mentioned which worldly considerations would have suppressed, and things omitted which invention and imagination might have supplied; a character of Christ, arising from his words and actions, of a most singular kind, left to its intrinsic merit, and aided by no art; and in the writings of St. Paul, sentiments warm, pathetic, and coming from the heart; particularities in each Gospel suitable to the character, knowledge, situation, and circumstances of each Evangelist. &c. &c.

The forgers of these things, if they were such, must have equalled Father

* Harduin's craziness consisted in rejecting what all the world received; the opposite folly to which is the receiving what all the world rejects.

Har-

Harduin's atheistical Monks of the thirteenth century, who, according to his fantastical account, in an age of ignorance and barbarity surpassed in abilities all the ancients and moderns, forged the Latin and Greek authors whom we call Classical, and were not only great poets, orators, grammarians, linguists, and knaves, but great mathematicians, chronologers, astronomers, geographers, and critics, and capable of inserting, in their proper places, names and accounts of men, rivers, cities, and regions, eclipses of the sun and moon, Athenian Archons, Attic months, Roman Consuls, and Olympiads, all which happy inventions have been since confirmed by astronomical calculations and tables, voyages, inscriptions, *Fasti Capitolini*, fragments, manuscripts, and a diligent comparing of authors with each other.

There is not one page in the New Testament, which affords not internal characters of being composed by men who lived at the time when the things happened which are there related. This is as evident, as it is that the noble English historian, who

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wrote an account of the troubles in the time of Charles the first, was himself concerned in those transactions. The discourses of Christ, as I have observed elsewhere, are always occasional, and full of allusions to particular incidents. The historical parts of the New Testament, and the travels of Christ and of his Apostles correspond with the accounts and descriptions which may be collected from other authors. In the judgment which ^f Pilate passed upon Christ, the rules of the Roman Law were observed. What is accidentally mentioned concerning the beha-

^f Mr. Huber remarque fort bien, qu'il paroît, par toutes les circonstances du jugement de Pilate, que toutes les regles du Droit Romain y furent exactement observées; et que cela peut nous convaincre de la verité de cette histoire. Des gens du petit peuple parmi les Juifs, tels qu'étoient les Evangelistes, ne pouvoient pas être si bien instruits de cela; et s'ils ne l'avoient apprise de témoins oculaires, ils n'auroient jamais pu la raconter, comme ils ont fait, sans dire quelque chose qui se trouveroit contraire à l'usage des Gouverneurs, dans les provinces Romaines. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. anc. et mod. T. xiii. p. 100. See also *Huber* Dissert.

viour

viour of Felix and Gallio, and some others, agrees with the character which Roman writers have given of them. There are endless particularities of this kind which might be produced. A man of very ordinary abilities, who relates various things of which he has been an ear and an eye-witness, is under no difficulty or pain : but a forger, if he had the abilities of an Angel, whose imagination must supply him with materials, can never write in such a manner, and if he has tolerable sense, will avoid entering into such a minute detail, in which he must perpetually expose his ignorance and his dishonesty.

Christ began to preach when he was about thirty years of age, and the ^sJews from his countenance judged him to be more advanced in life. He chose Apostles, some of whom were married, one was employed in a public office, and most were probably as old as himself, if not older. If they had not been cut off by martyrdom, yet few of them, in the course

^s John VIII. 57.

of

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of nature, would have survived the destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 70. which was about 74 years after the birth of Christ. Ecclesiastical history assures us that St. Peter and St. Paul died before that time; and Christ had told Peter that he should be put to death in his old age.

History also informs us that St. John lived long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and Christ had given an intimation that he should see that event, for he said once to his Disciples, *There be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom*; and afterwards, when Peter was desirous to know what should befall John, Christ replied, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*

St. John had seen the three Gospels, for he wrote his own as a supplement to them, which appears plainly in the Harmony of the Evangelists. He omits these predictions of Christ, though he
was

was present at that discourse, of which omission the most probable reason is, that the other three had mentioned them.

Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate that when the Jews came to seize Christ, a disciple drew his sword, and wounded one of them. John alone names him, and says that it was Simon Peter. The cause of their silence is obvious; Peter was living when they wrote, and they suppressed his name for several reasons, but, when John wrote, Peter was dead.

The three first Evangelists make no mention of the resurrection of Lazarus, perhaps lest the Jews, who had consulted to put him to death, should assassinate him. When St. John wrote, it is probable that he was dead, and therefore he gave a particular account of that resurrection.

There is reason to think that St. John also might compose a part at least of his Gospel a little before the destruction

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tion of Jerusalem, since he ^h speaks of the porches of Bethesda as standing, v. 2. though this amounts not to a full and conclusive proof, and may be a small inaccuracy of style, or, it may be, those porches remained undemolished.

St. Luke ends his history of the Apostles with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome for two years, A. D. 65. He mentions nothing farther, and therefore probably wrote the Acts before the death of that Apostle; and he refers us to his own Gospel, as to a book which he had published before.

Ecclesiastical ⁱ history informs us that Mark's Gospel had the approbation of Peter, and that Mark was instructed by him, which opinion seems somewhat favoured by the narration of Peter's fall and repentance. Matthew and Luke say that he *wept bitterly*, Mark says only, *he wept*, but represents his crime in stronger terms

^h Ἐστὶ δὲ — κολυμβήθρα. Ἡν δὲ, which is in some few copies, is probably the emendation of a critic.

ⁱ Euseb. ii. 15.

than Luke. Matthew relates at large the commendation and the commission which Christ gave to Peter : *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* xvi. 17. Mark omits it, viii. 29.

St. Peter, who died before A. D. LXX. mentioned the approaching ruin of Jerusalem, in the Acts of the Apostles^k, and in his own Epistles^l, as the best commen-

^k *And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord, shall be saved.* Acts ii. 19.

^l *But the end of all things is at hand. — The time is*

E

tators

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tators agree; and so does St. James ^m, and St. Paul ⁿ, and the ^o Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Papias conversed with the disciples of the Apostles about the beginning of the second century. He ^p speaks of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark as extant, and written by them.

come, that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begin with us, what will be the end of them that obey not the Gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? 1 Pet. iv. 7.

^m *Go to now, ye rich Men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you.—Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of our Lord.—For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.—The Judge standeth before the door.* James v. 1.

ⁿ *The Lord is at hand.* Phil. iv. 5. *To fill up their sins always; for wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.* 1 Thess. xi. 16. *The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night.* &c. 1 Thess. v. 2. The same event is also perhaps alluded to, 2 Thess. i. 6, &c. and 2 Thess. ii. 2, &c.

^o *Ye have need of patience that—ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, &c.* Heb. x. 36.

^p *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iii. 39, sub finem.*

Justin

Justin Martyr, A. D. CL, mentions the Gospels as universally received and read in the congregations, in his time. He must have conversed with Christians who were old men, and from them have learned that the Gospels were extant when they were young. Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι (says he) ἐν ταῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονόμασιν, ἀκαλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια, ἔτις παρέδωκαν — And again, Τὰ ἀπομνημονόματ' ἃ Ἀποστόλων ἀναγνώσκε). *Apol.* I. And his citations from the four Gospels, from the Epistles of St. Paul, and from the Revelation; shew to a demonstration that he had them as we now have them, in the main.

In the interval between A. D. LXX. and Justin, are the authors called Apostolical, as *Clemens, Hermas, Barnabas, Ignatius*. These authors make use of some of the Gospels and Epistles, and allude to them; which makes them highly valuable, and serviceable to the Christian cause. We cannot suppose that they had the inclination, we may positively affirm that they had not the capacity to forge them. Their own writings prove it.

Barnabas, in his *Epistle*, makes use of *Matthew*, *Luke*, *John*, and the *Epistle to the Romans*.

Clemens, in his *first Epistle*, makes mention of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians*, and takes passages from *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Acts*, *Romans*, 1 and 2 *Cor.* *Philip.* 1 *Thess.* *Ephes.* 1 and 2 of *Peter*, 1 *Tim.* 1 and 3 of *John*, *Revel.* and particularly from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. He also speaks of the *Martyrdom of Peter and Paul*.

In his *second Epistle*, if it be his, there are passages from *Matthew*, *Luke*, 1 *Cor.* and *Hebr.*

Hermas says, i. 2. *Juravit Dominus per Filium suum : Qui denegaverit filium & se — & ipsi denegaturi sunt illum* — from *Mat.* x. 33.

I. 6. *Cum ergo venerit tribulatio, propter divitias suas & negotiationes, abnegant Dominum* — from *Mat.* xiii. 21.

I. 9. *Vi-*

I. 9. *Videte ergo vos qui gloriamini in divitiis, ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, & gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum* — from *James* v. 4.

Ib. *Qui amatis primos confessus* ; from *Mat.* xxiii. 6. *Melius erat illis non nasci.* from *Mat.* xxvi. 24.

II. Mand. v. *Spiritus sanctus, qui in te est, angustabitur* ; from *Ephes.* iv. 30.

Si resistis Diabolo, fugiet a te ; from *James* iv. 7.

II. Mand. vi. Φοβήθητι τὸ Κύριον τὸ δυνάμενον ζῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι. from *James* iv. 12.

Such references should have been marked in the editions of the *Apostolical Fathers*.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* also, and in the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* of *Pseudo-Clemens* there are many passages taken from the New Testament ; but as these books are not so ancient as they pretend to be, I pass them by for the pre-

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sent, and shall pay my respects to them in another place.

The numerous and large citations from the LXX, and the New Testament, in the *Constitutions*, are however so far useful, that they help to shew how those places stood in the copies of the fourth century, and perhaps somewhat earlier.

Ignatius, who in his old age suffered under Trajan, about A. D. CVII, and who was contemporary with the Apostles, in his genuine Epistles alludes to the Gospels of *Matthew*, of *Luke*, and of *John*; *Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians*, those to the *Colossians*, *Galatians*, *Philippians*, and *Ephesians*, the *first Epistle of Peter*, &c.

Besides the places which are referred to in the margin of the *Patres Apostolici*, I have observed several, upon a cursory perusal, to which, I am sensible, more might be added.

Ignatius ad Ephes. μὴνταὶ ὅντες Θεῶ. from *Ephes.* v. 1.

Ib.

Ib. ἐν αἵματι Θεῷ. perhaps from *Acts* xx. 28.

Ib. τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντ^ς Θεῷ προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν. from *Ephes.* v. 2.

Ib. ii. ἐναίμην ὑμῶν. from *Philem.* 20.

Ib. iv. μέλη ὄντες τῷ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ. from *Eph.* v. 30.

Ib. v. εἰ ᾧ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσώχῃ πσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει. perhaps from *James* v. 16. or *Mat.* xviii. 19, 20.

Ib. ix. — λίθοι ναῶ Πατρὸς — εἰς οἰκοδομὴν — from *Ephes.* ii. 20.

Ib. xiii. τέλει ἡ ἀγάπη. from *1 Tim.* i. 5.

Ib. xiv. ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ζωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλῆντα μὴ εἶναι· καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, εἰάν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ. from *Mat.* v. 19. vii. 21.

Ib. xv. ἔθεν λαυθάνει τὸ Κύριον — perhaps from *Heb.* iv. 12, 13. or *Revel.* ii. 23. or from other places.

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Ib. xvii. τῷ ἀρχοντὶ τῶ αἰῶνι τέταρτον.
from *John* xiv. 30. and *Ephes.* ii. 2.

Ib. μὴ αἰχμαλωτίσῃ ὑμᾶς. from *Rom.* vii.
23.

Ib. xix. μυστήριον — πῶς ἐν ἐφανερώθει —
from *1 Tim.* iii. 16.

Ib. xx. ἕνα ἄρτον κλωῖτες. from *1 Cor.* x.
17.

Ib. xxi. ἔρχεται ὡς τὸ ἐκείναις πρὸς τῶν.
1 Cor. xv. 9. or *Mat.* xx. 26, 27.

Ib. xii. Ignatius takes notice of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, and of his martyrdom : and as he was writing to the same Church, he often alludes, as you see, to the Apostle's letter.

Ad Magnes. i. ἀγάπης, ἧς εὐδὲν περικέκεται.
from *1 Cor.* xiii. 13.

Ib. iii. — νεωτερικὴν τάξιν — perhaps from
1 Tim. iv. 12.

Ib. v. εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τόπον. from *Acts* i. 25.

Ib.

Ib. ἴδιον χαρᾶκτῆρα. perhaps from *Rev.* xiii. 17.

Ib. vii. — εἰς ὕψος, μία ἐλπίς — from *Ephes.* iv. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Ib. viii. εἰ κατὰ νόμον ζῶμεν, ὁμολογῶμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. from *Galat.* v. 4.

Ib. x. ὑπέρθεσθε τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν. from *1 Cor.* v. 7.

Ib. xiii. καθύδαθῆτε. Ὀδοῦσθ, a Verb used in the New Testament.

Ad. Trall. vii. μὴ φυσικαῖς λόγοις. a word often used by St. Paul.

Ib. viii. μηδεὶς [τί] κατὰ τῶ πλεονεξίαν ἔχεται. from *Mat.* v. 23.

Ib. x. — ὥσπερ τινὲς — λέγουσι — ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι; τί εὐχομαι θηρομαχεῖν; &c. from *1 Cor.* xv. 15, 32.

Ib. xi. ὅτι εἰσὶν φυλαὶ Πατρὸς. from *Mat.* xv. 13.

Ib.

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Ib. xii. ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμοι εὐρεθῶ. from
1 Cor. ix. 27.

Ad Roman. ii. — τῷ ζῴοντι διαθῆναι Θεῷ.
from 2 Tim. iv. 6.

Ib. iii. τὰ ᾧ φαινόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ
μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. from 2 Cor. iv. 18.

Ib. vi. τί ᾧ ὠφελεῖται — &c. from Mat.
xvi. 26. But perhaps this is an interpola-
tion. It is not in the old version.

Ib. vii. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσαύρω) — ὕδαρ ᾧ ζῶν,
καὶ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ — from Galat. vi. 14. John
iv. 14.

Ib. ix. ἑκζητωμα. from 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Ad Philadelph. vi. — ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα —
from 2 Cor. xii. 16.

Ib. ix. αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα. from John x. 7.

Ib. x. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡγομῆναι. from 1 Cor.
xi. 20.

Ad Smyrn. iii. ζωέφαγν καὶ ζωέπιεν. from
Acts x. 41.

Ib.

Ib. iv. — μὴ ᾤξασθε — from *John* Epist. ii. 10.

Ib. x. τὰ δεσμά μὲν — ὧν ἐπαιχλώθητε. read ἐπηχλώθητε. from *2 Tim.* i. 16.

Ib. ἔδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐπαιχλωθήσεσθε Χριστός. from *Mark* viii. 38. or *Luke* ix. 26.

The *Epistle* to *Polycarp*, which is the last, is also inferior to the rest : there is some reason to suspect that it is not genuine.

Ad Philadelph. v. — προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκκλησίας. *Confugiens ad Evangelium tanquam ad carnem Jesu, et ad Apostolos velut ad Ecclesiæ Presbyterium, &c.*

Quæ verba videntur de Evangeliiis et Apostolicis scriptis intelligenda ; ita ut hoc velit Ignatius, cognoscendæ divinæ voluntatis causâ, se confugere ad Evangelia, quibus crederet non secus ac si Christus ipse in carne, hoc est, in eo statu quo fuit in terris, conspicuus et etiamnum apud homines vivens, eos sermones,
qui

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qui in Evangeliiis leguntur, ore suo proferret; tum etiam ad scripta Apostolorum, quos habebat quasi totius Christianæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterium, sub Christo omnium Episcopo, quod cætus Christianos omnes, quid credendum sit, doceret. Unde quanti fierent Libri sacri Novi Testamenti, hisce temporibus, satis liquet. Addit: Sed et Prophetas amamus, quia ipsi nunciarunt, quæ pertinent ad Evangelium, id sperarunt, atque expectarunt. Quæ respiciunt Vetus Testamentum, prout scriptum exstat, nam aliunde Prophetæ Ignatio innotescere non poterant. Nec leviter prætermittendum, ab eo, primo quidem loco Novi Testamenti scripta, per quæ Christiani sumus, memorari, quasi perfugium suum; secundo verò Veteris Libros, quia ex iis Novum confirmari potest. Clericus, Hist. Eccl. p. 567.

In the same Epistle, viii. Ignatius introduces a Jew, saying, εἰ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔνγω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἔ πιστεύω. *Nisi invenero in antiquis (vaticiniis) Evangelia non credo.* Where see Le Clerc.

Ad

Ad Smyrn. v. εἰς ὧν ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι, εἰδ' ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' εἰδὲ μεχρὶ νυν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Quibus nec prophetiæ persuasere, nec Moſis lex, ſed nec Evangelium.* He ſpeaks of heretics, who denied that Chriſt had a body, and that he really ſuffered. How were ſuch people to be converted or confuted? By the testimony of the Apoſtles, recorded in the New Teſtament; of men, who, as Ignatius ſays, did eat and drink with the Lord, both before and after his reſurrection: conſequently Εὐαγγέλιον in this place means the Goſpels, the books of the New Teſtament.

Ib. vii. προſέχεν ἡ πῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως ἡ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῶν δεδογμῶν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάſτασις τελεείῳ. *Attendere autem prophetis, præcipue autem Evangelio, in quo paſſio nobis oſtenſa, et reſurrectio perfectæ eſt.*

Thus the *ſhorter Epistles* of Ignatius allude to the writings of the Apoſtles; but in the *larger Epistles*, which are generally ſuppoſed

supposed to be *interpolated*, the passages of the Old and New Testament are more numerous, and cited more accurately and directly, and sometimes impertinently, as in the *Constitutions*, and introduced with, Thus saith our Lord, Thus says Paul, and Peter, and Luke, and, Thus say the Scriptures. The Apostolical Fathers rather allude than cite; and therefore the hand of the Forger discovers itself in these *larger Epistles*.

Ignatius wrote his Letters when he was condemned, and chained, and guarded, and conducted by soldiers, who were mere brutes, and used him ill; οἱ δὲ εὐερίτηδες ἄνθρωποι χεῖρας γίνονται· ἐν ᾗ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μάλλον μαθητεύομαι. *Qui et beneficio affeēti, pejores fiunt: at ego eorum injuriis magis erudior, or, Christi discipulus fio.* Ad Rom.v. We may justly suppose, and the word εὐερίτηδες implies it, that the Christians who attended this most venerable Bishop and Martyr, and resorted to him on his journey to Rome, gave money to his guards, that they might be permitted to converse with

with him, and to minister to him, and that he might have leave to write and send his Letters: and this small indulgence was granted by those ruffians with an ill grace, and in an insolent manner. Therefore it is more probable that the *shorter* Epistles should be genuine than the *larger*, with their pomp and parade of passages from the Old and New Testament, which

— *secessum scribentis et otia quærun.*

In the *interpolated Epistles* of Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* v. λέγει ὁ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς· ὁ ὑμῶν ἀκούων, ἐμὲ ἀκούει. *The Lord says to the Priests, He that beareth you, beareth me, &c.* From *Luke* x. 16. A very suspicious phrase: why does this writer call the Disciples Priests?

Ib. xii. ἐγὼ ἐλάχιστος Ἰγνατίου — ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου ἐλάχιστου. *Ego minimus Ignatius — minimus a sanguine Abelis justus usque ad Ignatii sanguinem.*

In this application of Scripture there is a vanity, under a feigned modesty, which

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ill suits with this humble and pious Martyr, who as yet had not shed his blood.

Ad Magnes. iii. Δανιήλ μὲν ὃ ὁ σοφὸς, δωδεκαετὴς, γέγονε κατόχῳ τῷ Θεῷ πνεύματι.
Daniel enim ille sapiens, quum duodecim esset annorum, spiritu divino afflatus est. A childish romance; and what follows is no better.

Ad Philad. iv. οἱ ἄρχοντες παθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.
Principes obediant Cæsari, milites principibus.

This smells of interpolation: Ignatius addresses himself, not to Pagans, but to Christians; and it may be questioned whether in his time there were Christian officers and soldiers in the Roman army. See Moyle's Letters concerning the *Thundering Legion*, whose arguments in behalf of the negative are very strong.

Ad Smyrn. v. speaking of heretics, he says, τὰ ἵ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὅντα ἄπισα, νῦν σὺν ἔδοξε μοι ἐγγράψαι· μηδὲ γένοιτό με αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν, μέχρις ἔ μελανοήσωσιν.
Nomina
vero

verò eorum, cum sint infidelia, non visum est mihi [nunc] scribere : et vero absit a me ut eorum mentionem faciam, donec pœnitentiâ ducantur.

And accordingly, the genuine Ignatius mentions not, I think, the name of any Heretic. But how doth this agree with the catalogue of Heretics in the *interpolated* Epistle *ad Trallianos*, where he names Simon, Menander, Basilides, the Nicolaitæ, Theodotus, Cleobulus? The Interpolator seems to have been aware of it, and therefore he has slyly inserted a *νῦν*. *νῦν ὁκνᾷ ἔδοξε*, at this time I will not name them. In the *shorter* Epistle we have *ὁκνᾷ ἔδοξε* without the *νῦν*. Observe that the *nunc* is not in the Latin translation joined to the interpolated Epistles; but it is omitted or dropped by some accident, for it is in the ancient Latin version of the interpolated Epistles, — *non est mihi nunc visum scribere*.

Ib. ix. Τίμα, φησὶν, ἡε̃ τ̃ Θεὸν καὶ βασι-
λέα. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι· τίμα μὲν τ̃ Θεὸν, ὡς αἵτιον
τ̃ ὅλων καὶ κύριον· ἐπίσκοπον δ̃, ὡς δεξιέρεια,
F Θεὸς

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Θεὸς εἰκόνα φορεῖντα · καὶ μὴ τὸ ἀρχεῖν, Θεὸς,
καὶ ὃ τὸ ἱερατεῖον, Χριστὸς · καὶ μετὰ τούτων, τι-
μᾶν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. *My Son, says Solo-
mon, honour God and the King : but I say
unto you, Honour God, as the Author and
the Lord of all, and the Bishop, as the high-
priest, who bears the image of God, of God,
as he is a Ruler, and of Christ, as he is a
priest. And after him, honour the King
also.*

The author of this commandment, in all probability, was a Bishop, but not such a Bishop as Ignatius. *The Scripture says — But I say — I who am wiser and greater than Solomon.* A very modest speech truly, and much in character, and becoming the meek Ignatius !

Here the Bishop is equalled, or rather, is preferred to Jesus Christ ; for Christ is not supposed to be ἀρχων, a *Ruler*, though he be *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

After this homage is paid to the Bishop, leave is given to the Christians to honour
Cæsar.

Cæsar. How condescending and gracious, and how well contrived to make the Roman Emperors very fond of their Christian subjects! But this is altogether in the style of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

Ib. He says to those who had shewed him kindness, ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μαρτύρων λήψεται μίσθον. *Qui honorat vincitum Jesu Christi, Martyrum accipiet mercedem.*

Ignatius would not have spoken thus of himself.

There are in these Epistles a multitude of places which agree with the *Constitutions*; the one certainly transcribes the other, and both are of the same stamp, *ejusdem farinae*¹.

Polycarp, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, supposed to be written about A. D.

¹ The Reader is desired to observe, that these *larger* Epistles have been examined, and condemned, as *interpolated*, by Usher, Pearson, Hammond, Cotelerius, If. Vossius, Le Clerc, and many others, to whose objections and arguments I have endeavoured here to add a few more, and shall add something further, when I come to speak of Ignatius.

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cVII. has passages and expressions from *Matthew, Luke, the Acts, St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Ep. of John, and 1 of Peter*, and makes particular mention of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. Indeed his whole Epistle consists of phrases and sentiments taken from the New Testament. To the references in the margin might be added,

iii. ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ὑμῶν. from *Galat. iv. 26.*

vi. Πάντα ἡμῶν ζυγοῦνται, (or μωμοσκοπεῖται) καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν ἑδὲν, ἕτε λογισμῶν, ἕτε ἐννοιῶν, ἕτε τι τὸ κρυπλῶν τὸ καρδίας. This is manifestly taken from *Heb. iv. 12, 13.*

The Heretics also, who were contemporaries with the Apostles and Apostolical Fathers, bear their testimony to the existence of the New Testament, and most of them had their forged or interpolated Gospels and Epistles, as knowing that without something of this kind they could
not

not hope to get and retain any followers.

Simon the magician, and his disciples, are said to have composed books for the propagation of their stupid doctrines, and to have ascribed those books to Christ and to the Apostles, that they might impose them upon silly people. If so, this was done in opposition to the books of the New Testament, and in imitation of them.

The Christians afterwards were even with this Reprobate, for they related many an idle story about *him*, and also made him a more considerable Impostor than probably he ever was, though he seduced several poor wretches.

The Gnostics admitted some, and rejected other parts of the New Testament.

The Cerinthians received part of St. Matthew's Gospel; and rejected every thing else, particularly the Epistles of St. Paul, whom they had in great abomination.

The

The Ebionites and Nazarenes had a Gospel according to the Hebrews, or a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew corrupted and interpolated; they had also other forged books bearing the names of Apostles.

The Basilidians admitted the New Testament, but with such alterations as they judged proper: and so did the Valentinians.

The Carpocratians made use of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

See Tillemont *Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 41, 51, 59, 109, 220, 225, 261. *Quarto Edit.* to which I shall always refer.

These old Heretics went about in quest of fools, whom they had the art to turn into madmen:

—*hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.*

an art, which is not to be reckoned amongst the *deperdita*.

Before

Before the end of the first century, the world was pestered with the disciples of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, and Basilides, concerning whom see Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.*

The Basilidians made three hundred and sixty five heavens, and were better castle-builders than those who give us schemes of the *seven heavens*, which is a poor inconsiderable number. Basilides required of his followers five years silence, *which was a proper method*, as Le Clerc observes, *to make an experiment of their folly ; and indeed he might be sure that the scholar was mad in good earnest, who with a profound submission and silence had paid so long an attendance on a Knave that taught and did a thousand absurdities.*

Basilides, in all probability, only required this silence from his disciples, when they were in his company, and was so great a talker, that he suffered no body else to put in a word. His Lectures upon the three hundred and sixty five heavens could not take up less time than a

F 4

year,

year, and he would never have ended them, if he had been interrupted, and obliged to answer doubters and cavillers.

The predictions of Christ concerning the calamities of the *Jews* could not have been inserted as interpolations after the event :

Because they are incidentally placed up and down † in the Gospels, by way of

† For example :

Matt. v. 5. Blessed are the meek : for they shall inherit the earth.

This was literally fulfilled, when the believing Jews returned to their own country, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

x. 23. *Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come.*

xv. 13. *Every Plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.*

xvi. 28. *There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till &c.*

xxi. 19. *presently the fig-tree withered away.*

xxi. 41. *He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen, &c.*

xxi. 44. *On whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.*

xxii. 7. *he sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burnt up their city.*

parable,

parable, or in answer to questions, or on account of some circumstance of time and place bringing on the discourse :

xxiii. 36. *all these things shall come upon this generation.*

Luke xi. 50. That the blood of the prophets — may be required of this generation.

xiii. 5. *except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.*

xiii. 9. *If it bear fruit, well; and if not, then after that, thou shalt cut it down,*

xvii. 24. *As the lightning — so shall the Son of man be in his day.*

xix. 27. *Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.*

xix. 42. *If thou hadst known, even thou, &c.*

xxiii. 28. *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, &c.*

John v. 21. The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.

xxi. 22. *If I will that he tarry till I come, &c.*

To these must be added the parallel places from the other Gospels, and the prophecy of John the Baptist, *Matt. iii. 10. And now also the axe is laid to the root of the tree; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire, &c.*

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Because the books of the New Testament were received by Christians, and copied, and widely dispersed, and perhaps translated, from their first appearance :

Because these predictions in the Gospels are alluded to, or the same thing is taught, in other parts of the New Testament :

Because no Jews or Pagans ever reproached the Christians with inserting them, not *Trypho*, not *Celsus* ^s, not *Porphyry*, not *Julian*. The objections of *Trypho* ^t are to be found in *Justin Mar-*

^s Whom some people call a Jew : they might as well call him a Quaker, or a Muggletonian. The man was not even a Profelyte of the Gate, but a mere Epicurean Philosopher, who, if proper pains had been taken with him, might possibly have become a Sadducee.

^t *Trypho* had perused the Gospels, and says to Justin, ὑμῶν ἡ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ πρᾶξιμα θαυμαστά ἔτις καὶ μεγάλα ὀπίστανται εἶναι, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάσσειν αὐτά· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς. *Sed* ἔσ' *vestra illa in eo, quod vocatis, Evangelio præcepta ita mirabilia et magna esse scio, ut suspicio sit neminem ea posse servare; mihi enim curæ fuit, ut ea legerem.* Dial. cum *Tryph.*

tyr,

tyr, those of *Celsus* in *Origen*, those of *Porphry* in *Holstenius* Vit. Porph. ch. xi. and *Julian's* in his own works and in *Cyril* :

Because there is in them a mixture of obscurity, and needless difficulty, needless if they were forged. Christ foretold the destruction of the city and temple, and the calamities of the Jews, fully and clearly: but being asked when this should be, he gave an answer in a sublime and prophetic style, saying that the sun should be darkened, and the moon should not give her light, and the stars should fall from heaven, &c. which would not be easily understood, if learned and judicious commentators had not cleared it up; and this he might possibly do to perplex the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil. The believing Jews themselves, notwithstanding this prediction, stood in need of a second admonition, and were divinely warned to fly from Jerusalem,

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lem, say Eusebius and Epiphanius †. See Euseb. iii. 5. and the notes. So loath are people to leave their own house and home, even when they see Destruction at the door :

Because Christ not only foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, but the continuance of that desolation. *Jerusalem*, says he, *shall be trodden down of the Gentiles till the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* Take what interpretation you will, so it be not absurd, and add to it a matter of fact, namely, the state of the Jews ever since, and it must be owned that a considerable length of time is implied :

† Οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ μαθηταὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστεύκότες, μακρὸν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ γῆς ἡνόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθουσιν ὁπισπαρέντες, τῇ καὶ τῇ οἰκένῳ τὴν πόλιν ὀλεθρὴν ἀφαιρῆσαι τότε ἐδωκίθησαν. *Ipsi Apostoli ac discipuli Salvatoris nostri, et omnes, qui ex Judæis ad ipsum credentes accesserant, cum procul ab Judæa terra abessent, et reliquis essent immixti gentibus, omnem eorum, qui civitatem incolebant, perditionem atque interitum effugere per illud tempus facile potuerunt.* Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 287.

Because

Because Christ declared that these evils should befall them for not knowing the time of their visitation, and for rejecting him ; whence it followed, that as long as their rebellion and disobedience continued, the sentence against them would not be reversed.

If it should be said that Christ, as a wise and sagacious man, might foresee the storm,

Ἐσται ἡμεῖς, ὅτ' ἂν πᾶσι ἐλάβῃ Ἰλιού ἐρη^w,

this would be a disingenuous shift to evade a plain truth. Christ would not have acted suitably to his character and usual conduct, and to common prudence, if he had staked his reputation on conjectures ; and in the reign of Tiberius there was no appearance of such an event, and much less of the various circumstances attending it, which he foretold. The Romans had no interest to destroy and depopulate a country which was subject to them, and whence they reaped many advantages, and

^w *The day will come, when sacred Troy shall fall :*

the

the Jews had not strength to hope for success in a war against them.

If it should be said that Christ took his prophecies from Daniel, his just interpretation of Daniel shews him to be the Messias mentioned by Daniel, since none besides himself at that time had even a tolerable claim to that character. Daniel foretold, that in seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, a most holy person should be anointed; that this Messias should be cut off; that a prince should come with an army, and cause the sacrifices to cease, and plant abominable idols in the holy place, and destroy the city and temple, and make the land utterly desolate, and put an end to the Jewish polity. *cb. ix.* But Christ is more explicit and circumstantial than Daniel, and in many respects his prediction was new and altogether his own.

Josephus says that the *Zealots* trampled under foot all laws divine and human, and made a jest of their own sacred books, and derided the writings of the prophets.

ἐγγελάτῃ

ἐγελάτῃ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τὰς τῶν προφητῶν θεσμὸς
ὥπερ ἀγρυπνίας λογοποιίας ἐχλεύαζον — di-
vina autem quæque deridebantur, et prophe-
tarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commen-
ta subsannabant — ἦν γὰρ δὴ τις παλαιὸς λό-
γος ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα πότε τινὲς πόλιν αἰλώσεσθαι,
καὶ καταφλεγέσεσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολέμου, σά-
σις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ, καὶ χεῖρες οἰκτεῖναι προμεινῶσι
τὸ θεῶν τέλει. οἷς οὐκ ἀπισήσαντες οἱ
ζηλωταὶ διακόνους ἐαυτοῖς ἐπέδωκαν. *Vetus enim*
virorum sermo quidem erat, tum urbem ca-
ptum iri, et loca sancta conflagratura jure
belli, ubi seditio invaserit, et indigenarum
manus polluerint sacratum Deo locum. Qui-
bus licet fidem non detraberent Zelotæ, ta-
men ipsi se earum rerum ministros præbu-
erunt. B. J. iv. 6. This seems to have
been a traditionary interpretation of Da-
niel, a λόγος, a report, and not a written
prophecy. But here is a negative which
seems to contradict what was said before.
It should perhaps be οἷς ἀπισήσαντες — or
something to the same effect, and the
meaning may be, that the impious Zealots
caused those prophecies to be fulfilled in
the destruction of themselves and their na-
tion,

tion, which they had ridiculed and disbelieved.

Many of the first Christians, who were Jews dwelling in Judæa, sold their lands and possessions. The Gentiles did it not when the Gospel came to them, and none of St. Paul's Epistles contain any such precept, or intimate any such practice. The Jews acted thus, though not by the command, yet doubtless with the approbation of the Apostles, and the most probable reason for it was this ; They knew that Christ had foretold the destruction of their country, which should come upon it before that generation were passed away, and therefore they thought it proper, whilst there was opportunity, to improve to the best use their estates, which they should not long enjoy, by relieving their poorer brethren, and by enabling the first teachers to pursue their travels from place to place. Therefore also when the Gospel was spread amongst the Gentiles, the Apostles were careful to make collections in their churches for the relief of the poor saints
at

at Jerusalem, since it was just that a provision should be made for those who had given up all for the common good, and at whose charges the Gospel was at first preached amongst some of the Gentiles. See *Jos. Mede Disc. on Prov. xxxvii. 7.*

We read in the Acts of the Apostles that the Jews suborned and set up false witnesses against Stephen, who said, *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this holy place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.* Now though these were calumniators, yet probably something had been said, which gave occasion to the accusation, and St. Stephen had been heard to mention the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the inferiority of the ceremonial to the moral Law. See Grotius.

This is one reason why the unbelieving Jews hated the disciples of Christ so implacably, because *they did not prophesy good concerning the nation, but evil.*

Μάνη, κακῶν, ὃ πῶπότε μοι τὸ κρήσιν εἶπας.

The Author of the *Recognitions of Clements* introduces St. Peter telling the Jews that the temple would be destroyed, and adds, well enough, that upon this all the priests were highly enraged. i. 64.

The destruction of the Jewish nation is not mentioned by Jesus Christ, as a threatned calamity which might be averted by repentance, but as a decree which was fixed and unalterable. *If thou hadst known &c. but now they are hid from thine eyes. --- Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away : that is, sooner shall heaven and earth pass away, than my predictions pass away unfulfilled. The best and the most probable method, by which a Jew might secure himself from being involved in this national evil, was to embrace Christianity : for which, amongst other reasons, St. Paul says to the Jews ; Beware therefore lest that come upon you which is spoken of in the Prophets : Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish, for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe,*

believe, though a man declare it to you. Acts xiii. 40. which words of St. Paul, and of the Prophets, as they are applied by him, seem plainly to intimate the approaching ruin of that people. *Apud Lucam Paulus optime hæc verba aptat ad excidium simile eventurum per Romanos.* Grotius ad *Habac.* i. 5. *Patet proprie de Chaldæis agi, Habak. i. 5, 6. Paulus tamen hoc opus paradoxum considerans tanquam cohærens cum aliis gravissimis Dei judiciis, processu temporis vulgandis in eandem gentem, --- id ad judicia et mala, quæ Judæos sui temporis manebant, transtulit.* Vitringa ad *Jesai.* x. 12. See him also on *Isai.* xxviii. 21. and Hammond on *Acts* xiii. 40.

These things amount to an evidence which cannot reasonably be resisted :

— *ita res accendunt lumina rebus.*

The ancient Christians saw it plainly, and insisted upon it strongly *, as upon a sa-

* Συγκρίνας δέ τις τὰς τῆς Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῆς Συγγραφῆως ἰσορείαις ταῖς πρὸς τῆς παντὸς

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tisfactory proof of the truth of Christianity ; and the proof is as evident now as it was then. It highly deserves the serious consideration of those who doubt or disbelieve. Whosoever is of a studious and inquisitive disposition, and not of a sanguine complexion, has probably known what it is to doubt ; and has perhaps been offended at certain writers, who are incapable of owning or of feeling a difficulty, and who convince none, except those that stand in no need of conviction, and to some of whom it might be said, *Urbem proditis, dum castella defenditis* : but here is a prophecy, and here is a completion, to which if we can make no reasonable objection, we ought to ad-

πολέμῳ, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὑποθαυμάσειεν θεῖαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς πρᾶξις τὴν πρόγνωσιν τε καὶ πρόρρησιν τῆ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας ; *Quod si quis Servatoris nostri verba cum iis compareret, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem Servatoris nostri, eamque vere divinam & supra modum stupendam esse fateatur.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 7.

mit

mit the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to endeavour to know and to do his sacred will, accounting this to be the best foundation of our present hopes, and of our future happiness.

If the illustrious and most important prophecy which I have considered, and some others which shall be mentioned, have been evidently delivered, and evidently accomplished; and if the miracles of Christ and of his Apostles may be proved, as I shall endeavour to shew; it is a fair consequence, that Christianity is a true religion, and that it cannot be made false, or ambiguous, by any arguments drawn from the notions or from the behaviour of believers after the times of the Apostles.

Much may be said, and something shall be offered in behalf of the Fathers and Christians of the three first centuries, who suffered so greatly for so good a cause, and whose abilities, if they are overvalued by some, are as much depreciated by others. No Christian would

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willingly give them up in any point, where there is room to defend them : but the imperfections and mistakes from which they were not free, (and who is free?) and their credulity in some things, and in ages which were not Critical, and a kind of credulity, to which an honest man, as such, is more liable than a crafty impostor, can never invalidate the proofs internal and external of the truth of Christianity.

The confirming and settling these great points, upon which our faith is founded, without a view to any particular systems and controversies, as it is the most agreeable employment to an ingenuous mind, so is it usually the most disinterested of all occupations. Whosoever is resolved to employ his hours and his labour in this manner, should consider himself as one who lays out his fortunes in mending the high-ways : Many are benefited, and few are obliged. If he escapes obloquy, it is very well :

--Triumpho, si licet me latere tecto abscedere.

I have

I have only this to add concerning the present subject, that Christ having said of the city and temple, *one stone shall not be left upon another*, learned men have taken pains to shew that this was exactly and literally fulfilled, either under Vespasian, or under Adrian, or in the time of *Julian*.

If any one should be of opinion that they have not proved this point, I desire he would observe that the words are proverbial and figurative, and only denote utter ruin and desolation, and would have been truly accomplished, though every single stone had not been overturned; as a house or city is said *κατασκαφῆναι*, when it is destroyed, though its foundations be not digged up.

Malachi, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, says, *The day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.* iv. 1.

This was truly accomplished, though every unconverted Jew did not perish in that general calamity. Proverbial sayings are not mathematical axioms.

Eusebius, mentioning the prophecy of Micah, *Zion shall be plowed as a field.* iii, 12. says, Εἰ γὰρ τι δυνάτῃ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἰστορία, καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς τὴν πάλαι βοωμένην Σιών ζῶγεσι βοῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν δρεμνέτω ὀφθαλμοῖς παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ τὴν γε Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὡς αὐτὸ γέ φησι τὸ λόγιον, ὁπωροφυλακίᾳ δίκῃ ἀπολειφθέντῃ, ἐν παντελεῖ καταςᾶσαν ἐρημία. *Quod si quidquam nostra quoque historia valet, nostris ipsorum temporibus, illam antiquitus celebratam Sion junctis bubus a Romanis viris arari, nostris oculis inspeximus, et ipsam Hierusalem, quemadmodum ipsum hoc ait oraculum, instar pomorum custodiæ desertæ, ad extremam redactam solitudinem.* Dem. Evang. v, 273.

Eusebius was Bishop of Cæsarea, and lived near enough to have frequent opportunities

portunities of viewing the ruins of Jerusalem, and in them the completion of Christ's predictions.

The words ἡ ἡμετέρα ἰστορία mean, *the knowledge and the testimony of what we have seen ourselves* ; and the Latin tongue has no single word, which exactly answers to this sense of ἰστορία.

Herodotus begins his Book thus, Ἡροδό-
 τος Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἥδε. which
 James Gronovius translates ; *Herodoti
 Halicarnassensis curæ demonstratio hæc est.*
 But this interpretation stands in need of
 another. Kuster thus explains the place ;
*Notandum est ἰστορίῳ non solum denotare hi-
 storiam, sive rerum gestarum narrationem,
 vel descriptionem ; sed etiam, et quidem pro-
 prie, cognitionem rerum quas vel oculis ipsi
 lustravimus, vel ex aliis sciscitando didici-
 mus ; vel studium res varias, eo quo dixi-
 mus, modo cognoscendi. Et quoniam primi
 et antiquissimi Historici vix alias res memo-
 riæ prodere poterant, quam quas vel ipsi vi-
 didissent, vel ex aliis sciscitati essent, hinc re-*
 etc

Ette et proprio sensu dicebantur ἱστορικοί. Postea vero latius, ut fieri solet, extensâ vocis ejus significatione, etiam quicumque alii rerum gestarum scriptores eodem nomine simpliciter appellari cœperunt. Proœmium Historiæ Herodoteæ Latine sic verterim: Rerum ab Herodoto Halicarnassensi curiose observatarum specimen hoc est. Vel per longiorem periphrasim: Curiositatis, quam Herodotus adhibuit, in rebus, quas narrat, vel lustrandis, vel sciscitandis, specimen, vel argumentum, hoc est.

Le Clerc thinks that ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις may be rendered: *Quod in historiâ præstitit.* But, however, the observations of Kuster upon the word ἱστορίη are just and true. See *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. & M. V. 385. Ἡροδότῃς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε — *Herodotus res a se observatas et investigatas edidit, ut neque &c.*

I NOW proceed to make some remarks on prophecy in general, and then on the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our Saviour.

That

That God foreknows even all the future actions of men, is what the holy Scriptures most evidently suppose and prove, and what the bulk of mankind in all ages have believed.

This opinion arose probably, not so much from arguments drawn from the Divine perfections, as from experience, tradition, and revelation.

It appears in sacred history, that God almighty from the most ancient times revealed himself to men by foretelling future events, which is prophecy.

The uses of prophecy, besides gradually opening and unfolding the things relating to the Messias, and the blessings which by him should be conferred upon mankind, are many, and great, and manifest.

1. It served to secure the belief of a God and of a providence.

As God is invisible and spiritual, there was cause to fear that in the first and ruder ages of the world, when men
were

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were busier in cultivating the earth than in cultivating arts and sciences, and in seeking the necessaries of life, than in the study of morality, they might forget their creator and governor ; and therefore God maintained amongst them the great article of faith in him, by manifestations of himself ; by sending angels to declare his will ; by miracles, and by prophecies.

These were barriers against Atheism.

2. It was intended to give men the profoundest veneration for that amazing knowledge from which nothing was concealed, not even the future actions of creatures, and the things which as yet were not. How could a man hope to hide any counsel, any design, or thought from such a being ?

3. It contributed to keep up devotion and true religion, the religion of the heart, which consists partly in entertaining just and honourable notions of God and of his perfections, and which is a more rational and a more acceptable service than rites and ceremonies.

4. It

4. It excited men to rely upon God, and to love him, who condescended to hold this mutual intercourse with his creatures, and to permit them to consult him, as one friend asks advice of another.

5. It was intended to keep the people, to whom God revealed himself, from idolatry, a sin to which the Jews would be inclined, both from the disposition to it which they had acquired in Ægypt, and from the contagion of bad example.

The people of Israel were strictly forbidden to consult the diviners, and the Gods of other nations, and to use any enchantments and wicked arts; and that they might have no temptation to it, God permitted them to apply to him and to his prophets, even upon small occasions; and he raised up amongst them a succession of prophets, to whom they might have resort for advice and direction. These prophets were revered abroad, as well as at home, and consulted by foreign Princes,
and

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and in the times of the captivity they were honoured by great Kings, and advanced to high stations.

Man has a strong desire to look forward, and to know things to come. This desire, if it be discretely governed, is natural and innocent, and there are several things which it would be of great temporal benefit and advantage to foresee. For example :

Man would be glad to know how he may shun a future evil.

Thus, Noah was warned to build an ark, in which he and his family should be saved from the flood : thus Lot was commanded to fly from Sodom, with his wife and daughters : thus David was told to escape from a strong hold where he dwelt, and afterwards from Keilah : thus in the Pagan world, Socrates, as his disciples Plato and Xenophon affirm, had a Dæmon, or good Genius, who never exhorted him to any thing, but dissuaded him from such things as would prove hurtful,

hurtful, by which secret warning he is said often to have preserved himself and his friends, and to have given them advice, which if they followed not, they constantly found cause to repent.

See a Dissertation of Olearius in Stanley's *Historia Philosophiæ*, and Le Clerc *Bibl. Choïs.* xxii. p. 426. xxiii. p. 226. and *Silv. Philol.* c. iii. Olearius and Le Clerc believed that Socrates had such a Dæmon, and I confess myself so far a fanatic, as to incline to the same opinion, but without blaming those who are of another mind. When Socrates, just before he expired, ordered his friend to offer up a cock to Æsculapius, it is possible that he was delirious, through the poison which he had taken, as a learned and ingenious physician observed to me.

Scribonius Largus says, *Cicutam ergo potam caligo, mentisque alienatio, & artuum gelatio insequitur : ultimoque præfocantur, qui eam sumserunt, nihilque sentiunt.* Compos. 179.

To

To this head belong fundry prophecies containing a double fate, if you will permit the expreffion, which should be accomplished according as men would act. Thus Jeremiah told the kings and the people of Judah, that if they would repent, they should be prosperous ; if not, they should be destroyed : and to Zedekiah he privately declared ; *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, If thou wilt assuredly go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burnt with fire, and thou shalt live, and thy house. But if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the Lord which I speak unto thee : so shall it be well with thee, and thy soul shall live.*

Thus Achilles in Homer is represented as having a twofold conditional event declared to him ; if he returned home, he was to prolong his days, but to live
and

and die in obscurity ; if he continued in the army, he was to be cut off in the flower of his youth, but to obtain everlasting honour ; upon which he preferred glory to length of life.

Μήτηρ γάρ τέ με φησὶ θεὰ, θέτις δὲ γυρόπεζα,
 Διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτιο τέλοσδε·
 Εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
 "Ωλετ' μέν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·
 Εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκημι φίλῳ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 "Ωλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δὴρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
 "Εὐσεΐ), εἰ δέ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλει θανάτιο κιχείη.

Il. I. 410.

The same poet tells us that Polyidus, a diviner, assured his son Euchenor, that, if he stayed at home, he should fall sick and die, and if he went to Troy, he should be slain in battle : upon which the youth chose the latter fate.

Ἦν δέ τις Εὐχήνωρ, Πολυΐδ᾽ μάντις υἱός,
 "Ὅς ῥ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὅλοῦν, ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε·
 Πολλάκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολυΐδης,
 Νέσσω ἢ πρὸ δὲ Γαλήνῃ φθίωσθ' οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν,
 ἢ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἢ πρὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

Il. N. 663.

H

Thus

Thus the Pagans had the same notion with that which is mentioned in Scripture, of a double destiny depending upon human choice.

Again. Man would be glad to know that he shall obtain a future good.

Hope is one of the greatest comforts that poor mortals have in this world; but a certain foresight of prosperity produces a more solid joy, and a firmer support.

God made some favourable predictions to Noah.

He promised a multitude of blessings to Abraham, relating to him, to his family, and to his posterity.

When Hagar was driven from her home, she and her son, and cast out into the wide world, an Angel comforted her, and assured her that her son should be the father of a great nation.

God repeated the same promises to Isaac which he had made to Abraham.

He

He revealed himself to Jacob, when he was forced to fly from his father's house, and gave him assurances of support and protection.

He foretold to *Moses*, that by him he would deliver the people of Israel, and to *Joshua*, that he should be victorious in all his wars, and to *David* that he should be king of Israel, and that the kingdom should continue in his family.

Jeremiah comforted *Baruch* in his affliction with this prophecy, *Thus saith the Lord, I will bring evil on all flesh, but thy life will I give thee for a prey in all places whither thou goest.* xlv. 5.

He himself, who was a man of sorrows, and lived in calamitous times, received this consolation from God, *I am with thee, to save thee and to deliver thee.*

He also received an order from God to say to *Ebedmelech* the *Æthiopian*, *I will bring evil upon this city, but I will deliver thee in that day, saith the Lord, and thou*

shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom thou art afraid : for I will surely deliver thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee, because thou hast put thy trust in me, saith the Lord.

In the New Testament we find that St. Paul, on some occasions, had a promise of deliverance out of the hands of his enemies. Our Saviour prophesied evil, that is, temporal evil, to all his disciples, and told them that they should be exercised with sufferings and afflictions; but to compensate this, he promised them in the present world peace of mind, and joy in the holy Spirit, and the Divine assistance, and in the world to come eternal happiness.

It must have been a great satisfaction to the illustrious persons whom we have mentioned, and to others recorded in sacred History, that they were secure of the Divine favour and protection. This must have given them courage and constancy under all the difficulties of life, and have enabled

enabled them to look danger and distress in the face. The Greek poet describing Ulysses as an example of prudence, patience, resolution, and presence of mind under a variety of trials, supposes that he had not only the assistance of Pallas, but a prediction from Tiresias, that he should at last return home, and subdue his domestic enemies, and reign happy over his happy subjects, and come to a good old age. *Odyss.* Λ . 90.

To receive predictions of future unavoidable evils would be a curse rather than a blessing, and in the Scriptures when such predictions are delivered, it is by way of punishment. Thus God foretold to Eli all the evil which he would bring upon his family, and the Prophets denounced upon some occasions the calamities which should befall some wicked people, and the untimely death which they should not escape.

To know future blessings of which we shall partake, and to receive an admonition how we may avoid an impending evil,

are favours which men would often be glad to receive ; and these favours were granted to the people of God in ancient times and ruder ages, for several reasons which we have enumerated ; but when by his Son he had introduced a purer and sublimer religion, he no longer continued, under the Evangelical dispensation, to inform men of such temporal events. It is enough for a Christian to know that he may secure to himself everlasting happiness by his obedience. As the great things relating to the next state were more clearly revealed, the smaller things relating to this world, and to its frivolous concerns, were shut up in obscurity.

The knowledge of the things which will befall us, and our parents, and children, and friends, how long we and they shall live, and when and how we shall die, are secrets which God has concealed from us, and which in wisdom and kindness he has concealed from us. Sometimes prosperous events come most agreeable when they are least expected, and it would be
a sad

a sad thing to anticipate all our griefs, and to be miserable before hand.

And yet such has been the disposition of men in almost all ages, that many have had an intemperate desire of this knowledge, which gave rise and encouragement to wicked arts and to vile impostures. History both ancient and modern informs us of this, and affords us several examples of Princes, Statesmen, Politicians, who have had little or no religion, who have been mere Atheists both in principles and in practice, as Tiberius, the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and others, who yet were very credulous in this way, with all their free-thinking, and gave great heed to divination, and to predictions made by pretenders to those arts; so that irreligion and superstition are not at all inconsistent, and he who believes no God, may believe in evil Spirits, or unknown powers, or fatal influences of the heavenly bodies. Pliny the elder, who had atheistical notions, yet says of earthquakes, that the mischief which they portend is as great as

that which they cause, if not greater, and that the city of Rome was never shaken with one, which did not forebode future evil. *Nec vero simplex malum, aut in ipso tantum motu periculum est; sed par aut majus ostento. Nunquam urbs Roma tremit, ut non futuri eventus alicujus id prænuncium esset.* L. II. lxxxvi. p. 113.

Il n'y a rien de si commun, que de voir les Incrédulés entêter de l'Astrologie Judiciaire, et persuader que les Magiciens font des choses qui sont au dessus de l'ordre de la nature. Par exemple, on accuse deux grands Ministres d'Etat, dont les actions ne nous laissent pas croire que la foi en Dieu fût une de leurs plus grandes vertus, d'avoir crû tous deux les prédictions des Astrologues; et l'un d'eux, de s'être persuadé qu'un homme qui vomissoit diverses liqueurs, le faisoit par le moyen de la Magie. " Le Cardinal de " Richelieu," dit Vittorio Siri, Mem. Rec. T. viii. p. 669. " consultoit outre l'Astro- " logie, toute sorte de divinations, jusqu'à " des femelettes; dont la science consiste en " des vapeurs de Mere, qui leur font pré- " dire

“ dire par hazard quelque événement for-
“ tuit. Il étoit si credule qu’il attribuoit
“ à l’operation du Démon l’art de jetter par
“ la bouche toutes sortes de liqueurs, après
“ avoir bû de l’eau, comme le faisoit un
“ Charlatan Italien. Mazarin n’étant pas
“ encore Cardinal, ayant éclatté de rire à
“ un discours si simple, pensa perdre sa
“ faveur par là ; et le Cardinal irrité de
“ cet éclat de rire, par lequel il jugea que
“ Mazarin se moquoit de lui, lui dit iro-
“ niquement, qu’il n’étoit pas Monsieur Ma-
“ zarin qui avoit une profonde étude et une
“ exacte connoissance de tout. Mazarin
“ repliqua tout soumis, qu’en donnant cin-
“ quante pistoles, que le Charlatan deman-
“ doit pour enseigner son secret, on verroit
“ si l’operation du Démon s’en mêloit. Ma-
“ zarin regardoit toutes les divinations,
“ comme des sottises, excepté l’Astrologie,
“ dont il étoit fort entêté, quoiqu’il feignît
“ le contraire. Lorsque Madame Mancini
“ sa sœur mourut, et ensuite la Duchesse
“ de Mercœur sa Niece, comme il eut vû
“ par-là accomplie la prediçtion, qu’un
“ Astrologue en avoit faite à Rome par
“ écrit

“ écrit longtems auparavant, il en devint
 “ extraordinairement triste et mélancholique ; non par tendresse pour ses parens,
 “ mais parceque ce même Astrologue avoit
 “ fixé le tems de sa mort à un terme qui
 “ s’approchoit. Il en perdit l’appetit, et
 “ demeura plusieurs nuits sans dormir.

On sait aussi que l’Empereur Julien, qui
 n’avoit pû ajouter foi aux prophesies de l’An-
 cien et du Nouveau Testament, étoit exces-
 sivement addonné aux augures, et aux pré-
 sages que l’on tiroit des entrailles des vi-
 ctimes, et les Payens mêmes l’en ont repris,
Voiez Ammien Marcellin. L. xxv. c. 5.

Je pose en fait que ces sortes de choses sont
 aussi difficiles à croire, si on les considere en
 elles-mêmes, que les mysteres et les miracles
 de la Religion Chrétienne. Mais les Incre-
 dules y ajoutent foi, pendant qu’ils refusent
 de croire à l’Evangile ; parce que ces sortes
 d’opinions n’ont aucun rapport avec la con-
 duite de la vie, et ne sont nullement incom-
 patibles, comme la Morale Chrétienne, avec
 leurs mauvaises habitudes. *Le Clerc De
 L’Incredulité. Part. I. ch. i. p. 32.*

It

It is a question of importance, whether there has ever been in the Pagan world such a thing as *Divination*, or a foreknowledge of things. The strongest argument against it is contained in *Isaiah* (*ch. xli.*) where almighty God foretelling many great events, particularly the raising up of Cyrus to destroy the Babylonian Monarchy, and to deliver the Jews from captivity, declares that he alone can discover such things, and appeals to these predictions, as to proofs of his divinity, and evident arguments that there is no God besides him. *Produce your cause, saith the Lord, bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed and behold it together, Behold ye are of nothing &c. And again: I have*

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I have declared the former things from the beginning ; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them, I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass : I have even from the beginning declared it to thee : before it came to pass I shewed it thee ; lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image hath commanded them, &c. xlvii. And more to the same purpose.

Hence it has been concluded that there never was such a thing as fore-knowledge in the Pagan world, a conclusion too large and absolute to be inferred from the premisses.

Hinc possunt egregie confutari, qui putant frequentissime apud Ethnicos futura a Cacodæmonibus prænunciata ; quod hic a nemine, nisi a se, fieri posse statuatur Deus. Pleraque omnia illa oracula, quæ leguntur apud veteres Græcos, aut numquam sunt edita, aut ab hominibus pronunciata, ut viri docti satis ostenderunt, et præsertim
vir

vir eruditus Antonius Van Dale. Sæpius hic repetitur provocatio Dei, ne leviter res prætereat, sed altius in animum descendat, præsertim idololatrarum Judæorum. — Imo vero, dixissent Græci, multa habemus oracula — Sed Prophetæ reposuisset meras fraudes fuisse hominum, qui aut ambiguis responsis consultores eludebant, vel conjecturâ de rebus futuris temere judicabant, quam postea arguebat eventus. Si certe credidisset Cacodæmones ipsos fudisse oracula, aliter plane locutus esset, cum sciret homines ab ejusmodi malis spiritibus non difficulter potuisse falli, nec plebeculam eorum responsa a responsis ipsius Dei satis posse secernere. — Non ita loquerentur qui fidem habent historiis Ethnicorum de ostentis et prodigiis, quæ potentiâ Cacodæmonum vere contigisse volunt; ex eorum enim sententiâ magna et memorabilia fuissent malorum spirituum per totum terrarum orbem opera. Sed Prophetæ longe malumus credere, quam ejusmodi hominibus. — Clericus ad Isaïam. To whose remarks we might add, that the Scriptures, though they seem in many places to allow that evil Spirits may work miracles, yet
no

no where suppose or intimate that they can predict the future actions of men, except perhaps in *Acts* xvi. 16. and there it is not necessary that such prophecy should be meant. In *Deut.* xiii. it is said: *If there arise amongst you a prophet, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, — saying, Let us go after other Gods, — that prophet shall be put to death.* But this seems not so much intended to declare that such false prophets should be able to shew signs and work miracles, as to secure the people against idolatry; and therefore God says, *If a man endeavours to seduce you to idolatry, put him to death, even though he should give you signs and wonders.* Besides, the sign, whether real or pretended, might be rather of the miraculous than of the prophetic kind, and it could not be the prediction of a remote event, because that would not serve an Impostor's purpose. The same remark may be applied to the *false Prophets* in *Matt.* xxiv. *μᾶγοι*, and *γόνιες*, who should shew signs and wonders, but whose predictions and promises should be confuted by the event.

Prophecies,

Prophecies, in one respect, seem to carry with them surer marks of proceeding from God than miracles: for spirits, good or evil, may by their own natural strength, and without God's immediate assistance, perform things surpassing human abilities (which to men are miracles) unless God restrain them; but it seems altogether beyond the power of a created, finite, limited being to look into futurity, and to foresee the actions and behaviour of free agents, who as yet are unborn; this is an act, which probably implies a power equal to creation and preservation, and to upholding the universal system, and therefore prophecy must be the gift of God; and an Angel or an evil Dæmon, if he foretells such remote events, must be inspired himself, or must get his knowledge from divine prophecies; or else what he delivers must be by a conjectural skill, in which he may perhaps sometimes, in some general things, aim right, and be able to form a better guess and judgment than mortal men, having larger views and
longer

longer experience. If he should have skill to foretell inclement seasons, droughts, tempests, inundations, pestilences, earthquakes, famines, fertility of the earth, plentiful harvests, &c. yet to know what good and evil shall befall the unborn grandchildren of *Caius* and *Titius*, how they shall behave themselves, and how they shall spend their days, lies in all probability far beyond the sagacity of any creature.

In the book of *Tobit*, the Angel Raphael says to Tobias, *Fear not, for she [Sarah] is appointed unto thee from the beginning, and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee : moreover I suppose that she shall bear thee children.* vi. 17. Here is an Angel's conjecture, which was fulfilled, as the writer takes care to inform us, xiv. 12.

Whosoever he was who wrote the History of *Tobit*, his design seems to have been to draw the character of a pious and worthy man, who on account of his piety fell into great distress, and who after hav-

ing

ing borne many calamities with resignation and constancy, was restored to prosperity, and led a long and happy life. He had a wife, pious and virtuous like himself, but once or twice a little too querulous, and a son, who was an amiable youth, and a dutiful child to his parents. Angels^a good and evil are introduced, with a sufficient quantity of the^b marvellous. The name itself of *Tobit* seems to be feigned, for *Tôb* in Hebrew means *bonus*. There are also other feigned names in this Drama, concerning which see *Grotius*. Lastly, both the heroes of the story are very long-lived; the father lived 158, and the son 127 years. All this has the air of a pious fiction, and

^a The Jews believed seven principal Angels. *Zech.* iv. 10. *Revel.* i. 4. v. 6. viii. 2. One may suppose, from the number, that they were thought to preside over the Planets. *Tobit.* xii. 15.

^b Les Juifs ont débité un si grand nombre de fables, que leur histoire, depuis le tems des derniers des Historiens sacrez, n'est guere plus raisonnable que les plus fabuleuses histoires du Paganisme. Au moins il est certain qu'étant mieux instruits que les Payens, ils sont beaucoup plus blâmables d'avoir inventé tant de mensonges. *Le Clerc.* Bibl. Chois. iii. 166.

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the Author seems to have proposed to himself to imitate the book of *Job*.

Virgil makes the Harpy say, *Æn.* iii.
251.

*Quæ Phæbo Pater omnipotens, mihi
Phæbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima
pando.*

Where Servius remarks, *Notandum Apollinem, quæ dicit, ab Jove cognoscere. Æschylus* *Ιερ.*

—— ταῦτα γὰρ παλῆρ
Zeûs èγκαθίει Λοξία θεισπίσμαλα.
—— *hæc namque pater
Jupiter immittit Apollini oracula.*

And :

Πατρὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διὸς.
Apollo patris Jovis est propheta.

Apollo, says *Suidas*, is *Jupiter's* prophet, and delivers to men the oracles which he receives from him. ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὑποφήτης ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνει τὰς μαντείας, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκφέρει.

In

In the *Hymn* to *Apollo*, the god says concerning himself, 132.

Χρήσω τ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερδέα βελήν.

Oraculoque edam hominibus Jovis verum consilium.

And in our learned Poet, the Almighty is introduced saying to the Archangel Michael,

———*reveal*

*To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten.*

To prophecy is to be adjoined a knowledge of the secret intentions of men. It seems to be beyond the abilities of any created being to know the thoughts of a man, particularly of a man who is agitated by no passion, and gives no indications of his mind by any outward sign. This is ascribed to God, as his peculiar perfection, in many places of Scripture, and it is said, that he is *a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts, &c.* This knowledge God often imparted to the Prophets.

Cicero has treated the subject of *Divination* in two Books : in the first he alleges all that can be said for it, and in the second he argues against it. Whosoever will examine his reasons on both sides, may see, I think, that he has not overset all the proofs which he has offered for it. He observes, that all nations, civil and barbarous, always agreed in this, that there was such a thing as divination, or a foreknowledge of events, to be obtained by various indications, as by the stars, by portents and prodigies, by the entrails of victims, by omens, by lots, by forebodings, by consulting the dead, by oracles, by inspired persons, by dreams, &c.

If there is such a thing as divination, said the Pagans, there must be a Deity from whom it proceeds, because man by his own natural powers cannot discover things to come ; and if there be a Deity, there is probably divination, since it is not a conduct unworthy of the Deity to take notice of mortal men, and of their affairs, and on some occasions to advise and instruct

struct them. Thus the Pagans argued, and accordingly, for the most part, they who believed a God and a providence, believed divination, they who were atheists denied it, and they who were sceptics decided nothing about it.

Divination was a matter of fact, and to be proved like other facts, by evidence, testimony, and experience : and some philosophers rejecting all other kinds of divination, as dubious and fallacious, admitted two sorts, that by inspired persons, and that by dreams. In favour of the latter we have the authorities of Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Cicero *de Divin.* i. 25.

Atque dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam. Multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt, &c. Cicero *de Senect.* 22. which is taken from Xenophon.

When Socrates was in prison, Crito went to pay him an early visit, and told him, he was informed by persons come

from sea, that the ship from Delos would return to Athens that day, the consequence of which was, that Socrates would be put to death on the morrow. Be it so, said Socrates, if it please the Gods: yet I think the ship will not be here to day, but to morrow. *Why so, dear friend?* Because this night a woman of a beautiful and majestic form, cloathed in a white robe, appeared to me in a dream, and calling me by my name, said,

Ἡμαῖς κεν τελέαται Φθίην ἐρξωλον ἴκειο.

The third day shall land thee safe at fruitful Phthia.

They are the words of Achilles in Homer, when he proposed to return home. Socrates took it for a prediction of his death, because he judged that to die was to go home to his own country. And his dream was accomplished. Plato's *Crito*.

See Le Clerc on *Gen.* xii. 7. concerning revelations by dreams. Josephus has recorded a remarkable dream of Glaphyra,
Antiq.

Antiq. xvii. 12. and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. But Noris, in his *Cenotaph. Pis.* and Le Clerc *Bibl. Chois.* iv. 60. observe that it cannot be true, that Archelaus married the widow of Juba; whence it follows, that this dream of Glaphyra, supposed to be widow of Juba, and wife of Archelaus, is either entirely, or partly false.

He who would see some modern accounts of dreams and prophecies, may consult Grotius, *Epist.* 405. *Part* ii. or Le Clerc *Bibl. Univ.* T. i. p. 152. and La Mothe le Vayer, *Problemes Sceptiques* xxviii. and the life of Usher by Parr, and the visions of a strange fellow called Rice Evans, and Bayle's *Dict. Majus*, not. [D.] *Maldonat*, not. [G.] where he says of prophetic dreams, *De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les Esprits forts qu'ils ne le témoignent.*

As the Reader may not have the books to which I have referred, it may save him some trouble, and give him some satisfaction, or amusement, to peruse what follows :

*Quidam ad Landresium, in operibus, proximè oppidum cubans, somnio monitus ut cuniculum hostis caveret, surrexit. Vix egressus erat, prorumpit vis tecta, locumque disjicit. At Salmasium si videris, historiam tibi referet, patre suo auctore. Ad eum venit quidam Græcæ linguæ plane ignarus. Is in somnio voces Græcas has audierat ; ἀπιθι ὄν ὁσ-
 Φερίων ἔ τὴν ἀψυχίαν ; experrectusque Gal-
 licis literis sonum earum vocum perscripse-
 rat. Cum ejus nihil intelligeret, rogatus Senator Salmasius ei verba interpretatur, est enim filii doctissimi doctus pater. Mi-
 grat homo ex ædibus. Eæ nocte sequente corruunt. Hoc his adjice quæ Cicero, Ter-
 tullianus, alique ex omnium gentium histo-
 riis de somniis collegere. καὶ ὅ τ' ἕναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν,
 interdum, contra quàm censent Peripateti-
 ci. Grotius, p. 870.*

Le Clerc, where he gives an account of this passage, tells us, that Salmasius the father was *Conseiller au Parlement de Dijon*.

La Mothe le Vayer seems to relate the same story that Grotius had from Salmasius, but with some difference. *Un Conseiller du Parlement de Dijon nommé Carré, ouït en dormant qu'on lui disoit ces mots Grecs, qu'il n'entendoit nullement, ἀβί, οὐκ αἰσθάνη τὴν ἑὸς ἀτυχίαν. Ils luy furent interpretez, abi, non sentis infortunium tuum; et comme la maison qu'il habitoit menaçoit de ruine, il la quitta fort à propos, pour éviter sa cheute qui arriva aussi-tôt après.* La Mothe probably took his account from common rumour, when the story had undergone some alteration in passing from one to another. Ἀτυχίαν would be a more eligible word than ἀψυχίαν, if we were at liberty to chuse; but we must take it as Salmasius gives it, and not alter the language of *Monsieur Le Songe*.

As to the oracles which were uttered in Pagan temples, if we consider how many motives both of private gain and of national politics might have contributed to support them, and what many of the Pagans

gans have said against them, and what obscure and shuffling answers they commonly contained, and into what scorn and neglect they fell at last, we must needs have a contemptible opinion of them in general; we cannot fix upon any oracles on which we can depend, as upon prophecies which were pronounced and fulfilled; and if there were any such, which on the other hand we cannot absolutely deny and disprove, they are irretrievably lost and buried under the rubbish of the false, ambiguous, and trifling Responses, which History has preserved; and those which have a plausible appearance, lie under the suspicion of having been composed after the event. Some of them were in such doggrel verse, that they cast a grievous reproach upon the God of poetry, from whom they were supposed to proceed, and betrayed the poor capacity of the laureate poet.

In the class of knaves and lyars must be placed the generality of soothsayers, magicians, and they who made a craft
and

Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. 123
and a livelihood of predicting, and
drew up the art into a system.

Setting aside these sorts of divination,
as extremely suspicious, there remain
predictions by dreams, and by sudden im-
pulses upon persons who were not of the
fraternity of impostors; these were allow-
ed to be sometimes preternatural by many
of the learned Pagans, and cannot, I think,
be disproved, and should not be totally
rejected.

If it be asked whether these dreams
and impulses were caused by the imme-
diate inspiration of God, or by the medi-
ation of good or of evil spirits, we must
confess our own ignorance and incapacity
to resolve the question.

There is a history in the Acts of the
Apostles which seems to determine the
point in favour of divination. *A cer-
tain damsel, says St. Luke, possessed with
a spirit of divination, met us, which
brought her masters much gain by soothsay-
ing: the same followed Paul and us, and
cried, saying, These men are the servants
of*

of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this she did many days; but Paul being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.

Thus the divine Providence so ordered it that this occurrence should turn greatly to the honour and advancement of Christianity. But this prophetess might be in repute for discovering lost or stolen goods, or for revealing what happened in distant places, or for predicting changes of weather, or for many things of a like nature, and might not be able to foretell the future actions of men.

As to Isaias, we may infer, with Vitringa, from his words, that God was determined so to conduct the great revolutions which were to be brought about in the world, and so to order the things relating to the victories of Cyrus, and to the fall of Babylon, that his predictions should be accomplished, and that the Chaldæans and other Pagan prophets

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should

should be filled with the spirit of error and of ignorance. *I am the Lord — that frustrateth the tokens of liars, and maketh diviners mad.* And again he declares that the idols of Babylon should be destroyed, and their false Gods not able to defend themselves. So that the declarations in Isaiah may be supposed to relate to the predictions made by Isaiah, and by other prophets, in which their superiority over the diviners should manifestly appear, to the confusion of their Pagan neighbours. This, I say, follows, but not that, where there was no competition between the God of Israel, and the Pagan Deities, no such thing as divination should ever be found in any age, and in any part of the Gentile world.

It may be said that, in all probability, God will not endue bad Angels with the spirit of prophecy, or permit them to reveal things to come. It is probable indeed he will never do it, where there is a competition between true religion and idolatry, and when it would
make

make men worse than they would else be. But it appears from the Scriptures, that the prophetic *afflatus* has sometimes inspired bad men ; and we cannot be certain that God may not bring about some of the designs of providence even by evil spirits, by unworthy creatures, and immoral agents : much less can we be certain that good Angels were never employed, as ministring Spirits, among the Pagans.

Milton treats this subject in his *Paradise Regained*, i. 446, and makes Christ say to Satan ;

--- *Whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him [God] or his Angels President
In every province, who themselves disdaining
T'approach thy temples, give thee in command
What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say
To thy adorers ?*

It may be said also that Divination among the Pagans helped, indirectly at least, to support Idolatry and Paganism. Socrates, and Plato, and Xenophon, and other worthy men believed divination by dreams

dreams and impulses ; and this opinion had a tendency to confirm them in their religion, that is, in the belief of a supreme God, and of inferior Gods, and good Dæmons. It may be so ; but the Divine Providence seems hitherto never to have intended that Judaism, or afterwards Christianity, should be the religion of all mankind, since neither of these religions were ever fairly proposed to all mankind. Divination, or the opinion of it, contributed to keep up Paganism in Pagan nations ; it contributed also to keep out Atheism ; and there is a sort of Paganism which, such as it is, is far better than Atheism, with Bayle's leave be it said, who was pleased to affirm the contrary, and who, whatsoever was his design, has highly obliged all Atheists and Infidels by many arguments and remarks scattered up and down in his writings. Bayle was not the inventor of this hypothesis, though he adorned and improved it. Lucretius and other *Esprits Forts* had maintained it :

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.

Lucretius

Lucretius i. 81.

*Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis
Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque
Endogredi sceleris: quod contra sæpius olim
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

There may have been modes of Idolatry which were worse than Atheism, and which indeed, strictly speaking, were a kind of Atheism, as Bayle and others have truly observed; there may have been Atheists in the Pagan world who were better citizens and honefter people than many of their superstitious country-men; and some Epicureans, as to personal qualities, might be preferable to some Peripatetics and Stoics; Atheism in idolatrous nations and in former ages was not altogether so great a depravity as it is now, since natural Religion has received so much friendly aid from natural Philosophy, and from the excellent Newtonian System, and has been so well illustrated and confirmed by many skilful Writers; Deism likewise is not so bad in places where Christianity is clouded and defaced
by

by Superstition, as it is in countries where Revealed Religion is free from such gross errors and defects. There have been several Idolaters, Jews, Mahometans, and Christians, several Reverend Inquisitors, *Compellers to come in*, Propagators of the Faith by sword, halter, and faggot, who have been viler persons than several Atheists ; and religion may be corrupted to such a degree, as to be worse than unbelief : but if a man will needs draw the comparison between Atheism and Idolatry, it is not fair to take the worst kind of superstition, and the most ignorant, flagitious and infamous Pagans who were infected with it, and oppose to them the better sort of Atheists, ancient and modern, who lived reputably, and tell us that Epicurus, and Cassius, and Atticus, and Pliny, and Spinoza were more to be esteemed than many believing Pagans, or perhaps Christians.

We must consider Paganism in the whole, as it has been from the time when it began, to this day, in all ages, and in

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all

all places; and the question is whether if all these Pagans had been Atheists, it had been better for civil society in general, or no. On this question most of those who are not Atheists, I presume, will chuse the negative; and of the Atheists, all will not take the affirmative, for there have been Atheists, who have thought that infidelity was only fit for polite gentlemen, and that religion was of use amongst the vulgar, and a good state-engine. The remark therefore of this Author is rather lively than pertinent, that *he is not a greater madman who pays adoration to no being, than he who should devoutly worship his dog, his hat, or his breeches.*

Homer has described to us a Republic, if we may call it so, of a sort of Atheists, or despisers of the Gods. Polyphemus says to Ulysses^a, *Stranger, thou art a fool, or thou comest from a far country, to talk to me of the Gods: we are superior to them,*

^a Νήπιε εἰς, ὦ ζεῖν', ἢ τηλόθεν εἰλήλαθας,
Ὅς με θεὸς κέλεαι ἢ δειδέμεν, ἢ ἀλέαδης.

and value them not. The Cyclopes, says Homer, have no religion, no magistrates, no assemblies, no laws, no industry, no arts, and sciences, no civility, no respect for one another; but each Cyclops, in his den, rules over his wife and children as he thinks fit, and eats all the stragglers that fall into his hands. An excellent image of Atheistical polity! *Odyss.* I. 273.

Bayle had confirmed himself in an opinion that the Pagans worshipped a rabble of coëqual, imperfect, vitious Gods; not considering how much the doctrine of one supreme and of many inferior Gods prevailed; and for this reason he is the more excusable when he prefers Atheism to such Idolatry.

As to the grace of God, says Bayle, the Pagans and the Atheists are equally destitute of it; and none have it besides the Regenerate, who cannot lose it, and who are predestinated to life eternal. Who taught him all this? Not the ^b Scriptures,

^b See the imperfect promulgation of the Gospel considered in a very good Sermon by Bishop Bradford.

from which he could not prove it; not the ancient Fathers, who were generally of a contrary opinion, and entertained favourable sentiments of the wiser Pagans; not human Reason, which, according to him, was only a *Jack-a-lanthorn* leading those who followed it into bogs and ditches; not the Synod of Dort, and some modern Supralapsarians, whom he despised in his heart. He only threw out this as an *Argumentum ad hominem*; and he uses the same sort of argument, when he tells us with a serious face that Epiphanius, Jerom, and other Doctors of Divinity, ancient and modern, have declared *heresy* to be worse than *atheism*. As if there were any absurdity, that some Doctor, as well as some Philosopher, has not maintained! Jerom's learning and abilities deserve to be honoured, but his impetuous temper is no secret to those who have looked into his writings. When he was warmed with disputing, he would call

Hunc Furiam, hunc aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.

There

There have been Pagans, who have believed in one God, great and good, and in inferior Deities deriving their powers and perfections from the Father of Gods and men, themselves good and beneficent, and guilty of none of those vices and follies which poetical and fabulous history ascribed to them; they have also perhaps believed that there were malevolent Dæmons, who were sometimes permitted to do mischief, but who were subject to the power and control of the Deity; and certainly such a religion (though accompanied with some degree of superstition) together with a belief of the *honestum* and the *turpe*, and with a tolerable system of morality, and with some conjectural hopes of a life after this, is far preferable to Atheism, to the doctrine that a God, and a providence, and another state, are

*Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio.*

I pretend not to deny that some Atheists of old had notions of the *honestum* and the

turpe, and might act suitably to them : yet surely they had not so many motives to virtue, as the Pagans of whom I am now speaking.

But, says Bayle, if you had examined these Pagans, and reasoned with them concerning the supreme God, you would have found that they entertained some notions, the consequences of which were absurd, and would have destroyed the fair idea. And is not that the case of some Jews and Christians? Men must not be charged with all the consequences, which may perhaps regularly follow from their notions, whilst they neither draw them, nor perceive them, nor own them.

Which system is best, that of Socrates, or that of Epicurus? that of the Platonics, or Stoics, or that of Hobbes, of Spinoza^c, and perhaps of Bayle, who

^c Spinoza has endeavoured to shew that there can be no such thing as liberty, and that there is no God. But how? by a system of jargon, adorned at proper distances with Q. E. D. Great is the force of *initial letters*! Yet has this absurd and cloudy Philosopher

too

too often made a bad use of his great abilities, and who taught that a man could not believe that God was good and wise, and that Christianity was true, without sacrificing *Reason to Faith*, or, in plain English, without renouncing common sense?

This ingenious and unaccountable Author had frequent quarrels with *Reason*, which at last ran so high, that he gave her a Bill of Divorce, and turned her out of doors, with, *Res tuas tibi habeto.*

found admirers and disciples, who have followed him, as they say the *Tiger* follows the *Rhinoceros*, to eat his excrements. Spinoza held a *plenum*, which was necessary for his purpose. If there be a *vacuum*, Spinoza's God, or the material world, is a limited, imperfect substance, and depends on some cause. Absolute *Perfection* neither requires nor admits a cause, or an antecedent reason: but of *limitation* and *imperfection* there must be some cause. Spinoza would have owned this consequence from the admission of a *vacuum*, for he says, that what is necessarily existing, must be infinite. He should therefore have proved the existence of a *plenum*: *Quod Erat Demonstrandum.* The doctrine of a *vacuum* is the sponge of all Atheistical systems.

And yet, when he had discarded her, he would reason against her. That is,

Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te :

An absurdity, which sticks, like the shirt of Hercules, to all those, of all denominations, who argue against *Reason*, as against a false and fallacious guide. To rail at her, and call her names, though it be not so genteel, yet is rather less ridiculous, for she will never furnish arms against herself. But these persons are usually as fond of their notions, as Job was of his integrity ; they *hold them fast, and will not let them go* : and who would dispute with those, who, upon their own principles, must neither give nor take a reason ?

Mr. Bayle a pretendu prouver qu'il valoit mieux être Athée qu'Idolâtre ; c'est à dire en d'autres termes, qu'il est moins dangereux de n'avoir point de tout de religion, que d'en avoir une mauvaise. —

Dire que la Religion n'est pas un motif réprimant, parce qu'elle ne réprime pas toujours,

toijours, c'est dire que les Loix civiles ne sont pas un motif réprimant non plus. C'est mal raisonner contre la Religion de rassembler dans un grand Ouvrage une longue énumération des maux qu'elle a produits, si l'on ne fait de même celle des biens qu'elle a faits. Si je voulois raconter tous les maux qu'ont produit dans le monde les Loix civiles, la Monarchie, le Gouvernement Républicain, je dirois des choses effroyables. Quand il seroit inutile que les sujets eussent une religion, il ne le seroit pas que les Princes en eussent, et qu'ils blanchissent d'écume le seul frein, que ceux qui ne craignent pas les Loix humaines, puissent avoir. —

La question n'est pas de sçavoir, s'il vaudroit mieux qu'un certain homme ou qu'un certain peuple n'eut point de religion, que d'abuser de celle qu'il a; mais de sçavoir quel est le moindre mal, que l'on abuse quelquefois de la religion, ou qu'il n'y en ait point du-tout parmi les hommes.

Pour diminuer l'horreur de l'Athéisme on charge trop l'Idolatrie. —

Il convient que (dans le gouvernement Despotique) il y ait quelque Livre sacré qui serve de règle. — Le Code Religieux supplée au Code Civil, et fixe l'arbitraire.

Le Roi de Perse est le Chef de la Religion, mais l'Alcoran règle la Religion : l'Empereur de la Chine est le Souverain Pontife, mais il y a des Livres qui sont entre les mains de tout le monde, auxquels il y doit lui-même se conformer. En vain un Empereur voulut-il les abolir ; ils triomphèrent de la tyrannie. L'Esprit des Loix. l. xxiv. ch. 2. l. xii. ch. 29. l. xxv. ch. 8.

Je ne suis pas du sentiment (de Mr. Bayle) que l'Atheïsme soit préférable à l'Idolatrie Payenne, en tout sens. Pour répondre à la question, il faudroit, ce me semble, premièrement distinguer des sociétés, les opinions considérées d'une manière abstraite, et faire d'un côté la description de l'Atheïsme, et de l'autre celle de l'Idolatrie. L'on trouveroit peut-être qu'il y a telle Idolatrie, qui seroit préférable à l'Atheïsme, et telle

telle autre qui seroit pire. Ainsi, je ne puis répondre ni oui, ni non, à la question générale de Mr. Bayle. En second lieu, quand il s'agiroit de considérer, non les opinions en general, mais les Societez en elles mêmes, qui feroient profession de l'Idolatrie Payenne, ou de l'Atheisme ; il faudroit encore faire de grandes distinctions, & diviser la question en plusieurs propositions, selon les differens cas que l'on poseroit, et auxquels on répondroit négativement, ou affirmativement, suivant leur diversité. Je n'ai ni le loisir, ni la volonté de m'appliquer à cette sorte de recherche, et je n'en aurois même rien dit, si Mr. Bayle ne m'avoit fait l'honneur, de me citer, entre ceux, qu'il croit être de son sentiment, dans l'Article lxxvii. de la Continuation des pensées diverses sur les Cometes. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choif. V. 302.

Si ce qu'on nous dit des opinions, des loix, & des mœurs des sujets des Incas est vrai, il n'y a point eu d'Empire Idolatre dans les autres parties du monde, sans en excepter ceux des nations les plus polies et les plus savantes,

vantes, où il y ait eu de si bonnes loix, et ou elles aient été si bien observées. La religion, qui consistoit principalement à adorer et à sacrifier au Soleil — non des victimes humaines — mais des bêtes et d'autres choses, a été la moins gâtée, qu'il y ait eu parmi les Idolatres. Outre le Soleil, ils disoient qu'il y avoit une autre Divinité. — Ils parloient de ce Dieu, comme d'un etre invisible, dont la nature leur étoit inconnue, et qui avoit créé le Soleil même et les étoiles. Ils croyoient aussi l'immortalité de l'ame, et avoient même une idée confuse de la résurrection; à ce que dit Garcilasso de la Vega. — Supposé que ce qu'il dit soit véritable, on peut dire qu'une Société Idolatre comme celle-là, étoit incomparablement meilleure que ne le seroit une société d'Athées. — Ceux qui n'ont pas encore lû cette histoire seront charmez de l'excellente police des Péruviens, de la charité qu'ils avoient pour les pauvres, les veuves & les orphelins, et de l'innocence de leurs mœurs, à les considérer comme des peuples destituez des lumieres de la Revelation. Il y aura même bien des gens, qui seront plus édifiez des Vertus Morales des Américains,

Americains, destituez des lumieres du Ciel, que des Vertus Theologiques des Espagnols, qui sont, comme ils le croient, les meilleurs Chrétiens du monde. — Le Clerc. Bibl. Chois. V. p. 380.

Bayle, after having shewed us the worst side of Paganism, proceeds to insult Christianity, and to tell us that a nation consisting of true Christians must soon perish, and could not maintain itself against its irreligious neighbours, which doctrine is also retailed in that flagitious and detestable book called *The Fable of the Bees*. And how does this appear? Is it because Christianity makes a man a poltroon? He does not pretend to say that: but because, according to the Gospel, self-defense is unlawful, stratagems in war are crimes, merchandizing is wickedness, and riches and honours are prohibited. They who talk thus shew that they understand not, or will not understand either the strong and figurative style of the Scriptures, or the rational methods of interpreting them, or the true nature of virtues and vices.

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If this Author proposed to himself to acquire the applause of Free-thinkers, he had his reward : but when Phocion had made a speech which was applauded by the populace, he asked, Have I not said some foolish thing ?

To return to Divination, it appears from the Scriptures that some good and great men, when they were taking leave of the world, and blessing their children, or their nation, were enlightened with a prophetic spirit. Homer makes his heroes, as Patroclus, and Hector, prophecy at the time of their death ; and Cicero introduces his brother thus arguing in behalf of divination : *Epicurum ergo antepones Platoni & Socrati ? qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Jubeat igitur Plato, sic ad somnum proficisci corporibus affectis, ut nihil sit, quod errorem animis perturbationemque afferat. --- Quum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate, et a contagione corporis, tum meminit præteritorum, præsentia cernit, futura prævidet : jacet*

jacet enim corpus --- viget animus : quod multo magis faciet post mortem --- itaque appropinquante morte multo est divinius. --- Divinare autem morientes, etiam illo exemplo confirmat Posidonius --- Idque facilius eveniet appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. Ex quo et illud est Calani, de quo ante dixi, et Homericæ Hæctoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat. De Divin. i. 30.

The Pagans had also an opinion that the good wishes and the imprecations of parents were often fulfilled, and had in them a kind of divination. Read the story of Phoenix in Homer, *Il. I. 445*, &c. And Plato says that every wise person revered and esteemed the prayers of his parents, knowing that they were very frequently accomplished. Πᾶς δὲ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων. Ὅχας, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλαῖς ὀπιλεῖς χρημάτων. *De Leg. xi. p. 931.* Consult the place and compare it with the case of Esau, in *Gen. xxvii.*

Eusebius has treated the subject of Oracles in his *Præparatio Evangelica. L. iv.*

L. iv. v. vi. He produces such arguments as tend to shew that it was all human fraud, and amongst other things, he informs us that many Pagan priests and prophets, who (under Constantine, I suppose) had been taken up and tried, and tortured, had confessed that the Oracles were impostures, and had laid open the whole contrivance, and that their confessions stood upon record, and that these were not obscure wretches, but Philosophers and Magistrates, who had enriched themselves by persecuting and plundering the Christians. So Theodoret tells us that in demolishing the temples at Alexandria, the Christians found hollow statues fixed to the walls, into which the priests used to enter, and thence deliver oracles. v. 22. Eusebius adds, that the Peripatetics, Cynics, and Epicureans were of opinion that such predictions were all artifice and knavery. He then produces the arguments of Diogenianus against Divination. But Eusebius, as also all the ancient Christians, was of opinion that with these human frauds there might have been sometimes

times a mixture of Dæmoniacal tricks. *Pr. Ev.* vii. 16. He then argues against the oracles from the concessions and the writings of Pagans. He shews from Porphyry, that, according to that philosopher's own principles, and according to the reasonings of other Pagans, the gods who delivered oracles must have been evil Dæmons. He proves the same thing from human sacrifices, and produces Porphyry's testimony and opinion that the Pagans worshipped evil Dæmons, the chief of whom were *Sarapis* and *Hecate*. He proves the same from Plutarch, and he gives a collection made by Oenomaus of wicked, false, trifling, ambiguous oracles.

The old Oracles often begin with 'Αλλ' ὅταν, *But when*, which is an odd setting out. Thus in Herodotus,

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονοι — i. 55.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ — iii. 57.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡ Θήλεια — vi. 77.

'Αλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδι — viii. 77.

In the *Oracula Vetera*,

Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε —

Ἄλλα τέλει ξόανον —

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν Ζηήπλοισι —

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ νύμφαι —

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν Τιθορῶς —

Ἄλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι —

In imitation of which style, we find in the Sibylline Oracles, and in the beginning of a sentence,

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν μεγάλῳ Θεῷ —

And so in many places of that Collection, which I shall not transcribe.

Hence Aristophanes, in banter, I suppose, of the predictions in Herodotus, makes a pompous and ridiculous Oracle, and uses the same foolish introduction, to persuade a Sausage-monger to set up for a demagogue and a ruler. The Oracle is in Heroic verse, and runs thus : *Equit.* 197.

Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν μάρψῃ Βυρσαίῃσιν ἀγκυλοχάλης
Γαμφηλῇσι δρεκονίῃσι κοάλεμον, αἰμαλοπάτῳ,

Νῆ

Νῆ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ Κορο-
δάλμη.

Κοιλιοπώλῃσιν δὲ Θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάξει,
Αἴκεν μὴ πῶλεῖν ἀλλὰ νῆας μάλλον ἔλων.

*But when the Tanner-Eagle with a crooked
beak shall seize the stupid blood-drink-
ing Dragon, then the Paphlagonian pickle
shall perish, and the Deity shall advance
the sausage-mongers to the highest honours,
if they will but leave off their trade, and
sell no more puddings.*

Lucian also, *De Morte Peregrini*, gives
us two Oracles made upon the death of
that Knave, who burnt himself publicly;
the one by a seeming friend, the other
by a foe.

The first was ascribed to the *Sibyl*,
who was the *Mother Shipton* of the An-
cients:

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Πρωτόν Κωϊκῶν ὅχ' αἰετὶς ἀ-
πάντων

Ζηνὸς ἐργαδῆπρ τέμνει καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσας
Ἐς φλόγα πηδήσας ἔλθῃ εἰς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,
Δὴ τότε πάντας ἐμῶς, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἑρῆς καρπὸν ἔδωσι,

Νυκλιπόλον τιμᾶν κέλομαι Ἡρώα μέγιστον,
Σωθρόνον Ἡφαίστω καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνακτι.

But when Proteus, the chief of the Cynics, leaping into the flames, near the temple of Jupiter, shall ascend up to Olympus, then let all mortals with one consent adore the nocturnal Hero, and rank him with Vulcan and Hercules.

The second was fathered upon Bacis, the *Nostradamus* of his times :

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Κυωικὸς πολυώνομος ἐς φλόγα
πολλῶ

Πηδήσῃ δόξης ἵπ' ἐρμυνύϊ θυμὸν ὀρμυθεῖς,
Δὴ τότε τὰς ἄλλας κυναλώπεκας, οἳ οἱ ἔπον),
Μιμεῖσθαι χεῖρ' ὑπὸ τμον δ' ποιχομύριοι λυκτοιο.
Ὅς δέ κε δειλὸς ἔων, φεύγει μὲν Ἡφαίστιο,
Λάεσσιν βαλέειν τοῦτον τάχα πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς,
Ὡς μὴ ψυχρὸς ἔων, θερμηγορέειν Ὀππχειρῇ,
Χρυσῶν ζαζάμυρ' ὡς πῆλιν, μάλα πολλὰ δα-
νειζων,

Ἐν καλαῖς Πάτραισιν ἔχων τρεῖς πέντε τάλαντα.

But when the Cynic, who has more names than one, incited by the Furies, and by the mad love of vain-glory, shall jump into the flames,

flames, then let all the Dog-foxes, his trusty disciples, follow the example of the departed Wolf. And if any one of them shrink, and be afraid of the fire, let all the Greeks pelt him with stones, that he may no more shew his courage only by prating, and put gold into his satchel, and lend it out to interest, and add to the fifteen talents which he has hoarded up at Patræ.

It is probable that Lucian made both these Oracles, to divert himself and his readers, not forgetting the essential *ἄλλ' ὅταν*. But Lucian's raillery could not put a stop to the superstition of the world; for this Peregrinus, or Proteus, was deified, and had, at Parium, a statue erected, to which religious honours were paid, and which delivered oracles. See Athenagoras *Legat.*

The comedy of Aristophanes, cited above, abounds with ridicule upon the Oracles, and shews the liberty which the Wits in his days took to deride them, and to bring them into contempt.

If the writer *de Dea Syria* be in earnest, and sincere in his narration, as he seems

to be, there were few Pagan Temples and Oracles more remarkable than that of Hierapolis in Syria, and from his account it may be inferred that the Priests of that temple had carried the arts of imposture to great perfection, and surpassed their ancient instructors the Ægyptians, like the Thief who stole a statue of Mercury, and told the god,

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

The Ægyptians, says this author, were the first who had knowledge of the Gods, and built them temples, &c. and from them the Assyrians learned these things. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say the same. Lucian. de Dea Syr. § 2.

Ἐνὶ δὲ — καὶ θεοὶ δὲ κάρτα αὐτοῖσι ἐμφανέες.
 ἰδρώδ' ὃ δὴ ὦν ὡδὰς (φίσι τὰ ξόανα, καὶ κινέει)
 καὶ χρησμηγορέει καὶ βοῇ δὲ πολλάκις ἐγένετο ἐν
 τῷ νηῷ, κλειομένης δὲ ἱερῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤκυσαν.
Sunt autem --- præsentes valde iis Dii.
Sudant enim apud illos simulacra, et moven-
tur, atque edunt oracula. Clamor etiam
sæpe in æde multis exaudientibus ortus cum
clausum esset templum.

They

They had a statue of Apollo, differing from the Græcian images of that God in two things, he was represented with a beard, and he was cloathed; and he delivered his oracles thus:

Μανθίῃα πολλὰ μὲν παρ' Ἑλλήσι, πολλὰ
 ἢ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι. τὰ ἢ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ
 ἐν τῇδε Ἀσίῃ πολλά ἐσι. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔτε
 ἱρέων ἄνδρ' ἔτε προφητέων φθέγγον. ὁδε ἢ αὐτὸς
 τε κινέει, καὶ τ' μανθίῃω ἐς τέλος αὐτοεργεί.
 πρόπ' ἢ αὐτῆς ποίσοδε. εὖτ' ἂν ἐθέλησι χρη-
 σμηγορέειν, ἐν τῇ ἔδρῃ πρῶτα κινέει. οἱ δέ μιν
 ἱρέες αὐτίκα αἰείρουσι. ἦν ἢ μὴ αἰείρωσι, ὃ ἢ
 ἰδρώει, καὶ ἐς μέσον ἔτι κινέει. εὖτ' ἂν ἢ ὑπο-
 διώτες φέρωσι, ἄγει (φέας, πάντῃ πειδινέων,
 ἔς ἄλλον ἐξ ἐτέρου μέλαπιδέων. τέλος ὃ δὲ
 χερσὺς ἀνθιάσας, ἐπερέειαί μιν περὶ ἀπάντων
 πρηγμάτων ὃ ἢ ἦν τι μὴ θέλη ποιεέσθαι, ὀπίσω
 ἀναχωρεῖ. ἦν δέ τι ἐπαινέει, ἄγει ἐς τὸ πρόσω
 τὰς προσφέροντας, ὅκωσπερ ἡμιόχεων. ἔτω μὲν
 ζωαγείρουσι τὰ θέσφατα, καὶ ἔτε ἱρὸν πρηγμα-
 τῶν, ἔτε ἰδίον τέττα ἄνδρ' ποιεῖσι. λέγει δὲ καὶ
 τὰ ἔτε περὶ, καὶ τ' ὁρέων αὐτὰ πασέων, ἔ
 ὁκότε ὅκ' ἔσονται. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὰ Σημηθεῖα περὶ,
 κατέ χρεῖ μιν ἀποδημέειν, τ' εἶπον ἀποδημίω.
 L 4 Ἐρέω

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔ' ἄλλο τὸ ἐμεῦ παρεόν] ἐπερξε. οἱ
 μὲν μιν ἱεῖες ἀείροντες ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐν
 γῇ κάτω ἔλιπε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μὲν
 ἐφορέει. *Oracula apud Græcos multa, multa
 apud Ægyptios. Verum etiam in Libya et
 in Asia multa sunt. Sed alia non sine sa-
 cerdotibus vel prophetis respondent : at hic
 movetur ipse, et divinationem ad finem usque
 solus perducit. Modus hic est. Cum vult red-
 dere oraculum, in sede primum sua movetur.
 Sacerdotes vero ipsum continuo tollunt. Si ve-
 ro non tollant, ille sudat, et versus medium
 adhuc movetur. Cum vero subeuntes onus ip-
 sum ferunt, agit illos usque quaque in orbem,
 et in alium ex alio transilit. Tandem obsistens
 sacerdotum princeps interrogat illum de re-
 bus omnibus. Isque si nolit fieri, retrocedit ;
 si vero probet, antrorsum agit suos bajulos,
 tanquam habenis auriga. Ita colligunt ora-
 cula, & neque rem sacram ullam neque pri-
 vatam sine hoc faciunt. Prædicat etiam de
 anno omnibusque illius tempestatibus, et
 quando non futuræ sint : item prædicat de
 Signo, quando eam, quam dicebam modo,
 profectionem suscipiat. Narrabo etiam
 aliud, quod me præsentē egit. Sacerdotes
 sublatum*

sublatum ferebant. At ipse illos humi reliquit, sublimis ipse solus ferebatur. Ib. § 36, 37.

This author says here that he saw the Image suspended and moving along in the air, upon which La Croze and Guietus observe that he is a liar^d. They did not consider that feats as surprising as this have been performed by machinery assisted with legerdemain, and that Christian Monks, as well as Pagan Priests, have been eminent in such arts. We are obliged to the Writer for not omitting a remarkable circumstance, that the image was adorned with a fine robe; the cloke was not put on for nothing, and served in all probability to conceal some knavery.

The tricks of the Ægyptian priests were not to be compared to this: their little

^d Cicero mentions the old story of the wooden *lituus* of Romulus, which was not consumed in a fire, and treats it as a fable, *De Divin.* ii. 38. and yet it might possibly be true; for incombustible wood has been discovered.

gods,

gods, when they were carried in procession, did not sweat, like these statues, but only made the Porters sweat :

--- *sic numina Memphis*
In vulgus proferre solet : penetralibus exit
Effigies ; brevis illa quidem : sed plurimus
infra

Liniger imposito suspirat veste sacerdos,
Testatus sudore Deum.

Claudian iv. *Cons. Hon.* 569.

Observe that this statue did not speak, and that when the Writer says λέγει ἑτεῶν, he only means that it *indicated* or *declared*. From his account we may collect that when any question was put to it, if it retired and drew back, that was as much as to say, *No* : if it advanced, the meaning was, *Yes*.

We have accounts very like this, from other Authors, of other statues and oracles. Diodorus Sic. xvii. says of Jupiter Ammon : Τὸ δὲ τὸ Θεῶν ζόανον — τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιάζουσιν παντελῶς ποιῆν. ὅτι νεὼς γὰρ περιφέρει χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔτι δὲ ὅτι τῶν ἄμυν

ἡμῶν Φέροντες τὸ Θεόν, προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως
 ὅπως πότε ἂν ἄγοι τὸ εἰς Θεὸν νεῦμα τὸ πορείαν.
*Simulacrum Dei --- peculiari novoque plane
 vaticinandi genere oracula edit. In au-
 rea enim navi a sacerdotibus octoginta cir-
 cumfertur; qui humeris Deum gestantes eo
 tendunt, quo forte fortuna Dei nutus eos
 agit. Compare with this 2. Curtius iv. 7.
 Macrobius, i. 23. says, Hujus [Heliopoli-
 tani] templi religio etiam divinatione præ-
 pollet, quæ ad Apollinis potestatem refertur,
 qui idem atque Sol est. Vebitur enim simu-
 lacrum Dei Heliopolitani ferculo, --- et sub-
 eunt plerumque provinciæ procures, raso ca-
 pite, longi temporis castimonia puri; ferun-
 turque divino spiritu, non suo arbitrio, sed
 quo Deus propellit vehentes: ut videmus
 apud Antium promoveri simulacra Fortuna-
 rum ad danda responsa. Strabo says from
 Callisthenes, that Ammon delivered his
 answers, ἔξ ὑπὸ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νόμοις ἢ Συμ-
 βόλοις τὸ πλέον. non verbis, sed ut plurimum
 nutu et signis. See Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 210.
 who produces these passages of Diodorus,
 Macrobius, and Strabo, and adds some
 from other authors.*

The

The writer *de Dea Syria* tells us that the beasts which were kept in this sacred place lost their natural fierceness. Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ ἄφειοι νέμοντο βόες μεγάλοι, καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ ἀετοὶ, καὶ ἄρκτοι, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμᾶ (ίνοντο), ἀλλὰ πάντες ἱεροὶ τε εἰσι, καὶ χειροῦθες. *In aula soluti pascuntur boves magni, et equi, et aquilæ, et ursi, et leones, qui nequaquam nocent hominibus, sed sacri omnes sunt, et mansueti.* § 41.

The city and temple also, as he informs us, swarmed with *Galli*, or *castrated priests*, who perhaps performed the same operation upon these wild beasts, which they had performed upon themselves; and this, together with due correction administered from time to time, and a good education, and seeing much company, and proper food, and a full belly, and three meals a day, would make these lions and bears as tame as lambs. The μεγάλοι βόες were probably *oxen*, who grow to a much larger size than bulls; and a bull is a surly animal, with whom it is hard to cultivate any friendship.

Van

Van Dale observes from Theophrastus, that cedar, and those sorts of wood which contain an oily moisture, will have a dew upon them in damp weather, and that statues made of them will sweat, which passed for a prodigy with silly people. He mentions this, as illustrating what is said in the book *De Dea Syria* concerning sweating images: but I rather think that the Priests there had some surer contrivance to bring about this miracle, and could make their images sweat when they thought it proper.

The Book *de Dea Syria* is very entertaining, and composed elegantly, and in the Ionic dialect: the Author seems to have been a Pagan who gave credit to prodigies, oracles, and the power of the Gods, which was not Lucian's case. If Lucian wrote it, to whom it is ascribed, one might suspect that as he proposed to follow Herodotus in style and manner, so he affected to imitate him in gravely relating marvellous and strange things. But if

if this were his design, it was of too refined a nature, and by the seriousness which runs through the whole composition, the jest has been hitherto lost. Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 31. banters Herodotus as a liar, tho unjustly, I think; for in this charming Historian there are some marks of credulity, but none of dishonesty. Whosoever made the book, and with whatsoever intent, his narration seems to be historically true, and much of it is confirmed by other writers. We are informed by Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* iii. 501. that Jurieu, in his *History of the Jewish Rites and Doctrines*, has concluded that Lucian was not the author of this Treatise, because it is written in the Ionic Dialect. The argument proves nothing, for Lucian was an ingenious monkey, who could imitate what he would, and throw himself into all shapes; and he might affect this sweetly-flowing style, for several reasons, or out of mere fancy; and Arrian, as Fabricius observes, wrote his *Indica* in this dialect, though he composed his other works in the Attic diction. I have not Jurieu's book to consult,

sult, and perhaps it is not worth the seeking. Jurieu made a figure in his time, and had more zeal than discretion. He wrote some Tracts of Devotion, and he was remarkable for two things, first for misinterpreting the Apocalypse, and thence foretelling what never came to pass, secondly for publishing idle stories against Grotius, and other learned men, in a book called *L'Esprit de Monsieur Arnauld*. The book at first had a run, for Censure is of a healthy complexion, and thrives better than Panegyric; and as it has been said of a Hog^e, that his soul is given him instead of salt, to keep him from stinking, so what is called *Secret History* will preserve even a slovenly performance from decaying, longer than one would imagine: but now this work would be little known, if Bayle and Le Clerc and others had not chastised it, in which perhaps they did it too much honour. Jurieu by treating Grotius as an Infidel, went to work like a bungler, for, *Est ars etiam maledicendi*, as Joseph Scaliger said upon a like occa-

* Cicero *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 64.

sion,

sion, and it requires something of a hand to throw dirt. Bossuet, though he did not fight with such weapons as Jurieu, yet attacked Grotius, as a dangerous author and a Socinian, and made remarks upon him which are mere declamation and *verbiage*. It is one thing to be *Bishop of Meaux*, and another thing to be *Hugo Grotius* :

Οὐ[†] γὰρ ἐν μέσοις κεῖται
 Δῶρα δυσμαχῆλ' αἰ Μοισᾶν
 Τῷ πῆλ' ὑχέει φέρειν.

Calmet, if I remember right, has also treated Grotius in the same manner. Grotius was inclined to think and to judge rather too favourably, than too hardly of the Church of Rome ; for which some of the Ecclesiastics of that communion have repaid him with the gratitude that was to be expected, and have taught by-standers, that he who endeavours to stroke a tiger into good humour, will at least have his fingers bitten off in the experiment.

† Non enim in medio jacent
 Ardua dona Musarum
 A quolibet auferenda.

Herodotus

Herodotus is of opinion that Divination and Oracles had their rise in Ægypt, and thence came into Afric and Greece, and that the Oracle at Dodona was the most ancient in Greece. L. ii. The opinion is very probable, for Ægypt was the nursery of idolatry and superstition. Homer mentions the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, and that of Apollo at Pytho, or Delphi, as being illustrious in the time of the Trojan war, and represents the latter as immensely rich. Il. II. 233. I. 404.

Herodotus shews us the great authority of oracles, from ancient times down to his own, by which kingdoms were disposed of, and war and peace were made. He relates that the Heraclidæ, who, before Gyges, reigned in Lydia, at Sardes, obtained the kingdom by an oracle, and that Gyges, who slew his master Candaules, had the kingdom adjudged to him by the Delphic Oracle, which favour he rewarded by sending thither large gifts. Herodotus every where speaks of oracles, divination, and prodigies, as one who

M firmly

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firmly believed in them, and who was displeased with those that slighted them. See viii. 77. He gives us there an Oracle of Bacis, in which there is a remarkable expression, and in the style of the Scriptures,

Δῖα δίκη σέεισσι κατ' ἐργὸν νόμον, ὕβρις ἴον.

Compescet juvenem meritiſſima pœna superbum.

as *Psalm lxxxix. 22. --- nor the son of wickedness afflict him. 2 Sam. vii. 10. neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them.* Judas is called *the son of perdition*, John xvii. 12. where see Grotius.

Herodotus also relates prophetic dreams which were said to have been accomplished, as the dream of Cræsus, of Astyages, and of others. *Having travelled*, says Prideaux, *through Ægypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, he did, as travellers used to do, he put down relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt was imposed upon in many of them.*

Van

Van Dale, in his book *De Oraculis*, observes that the Oracular temples were usually situated in mountainous places, which abounded with caverns fitted for frauds:

That the oracles were delivered only at stated times:

That at Delphi, the priestesses had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down and explain and mend her gibberish; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses, for if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the Amanuensis:

That the consulters sometimes wrote their requests, and received answers in writing:

That the priests had the art of opening letters and closing them again, without breaking the seal:

That the *adyta*, whence the oracles were delivered, were shaded with branches, and clouded with incense, to help the fraud:

That in the temples sweet smells were suddenly diffused, to shew that the God was in good humour :

That there are drugs, herbs, and fumigations which will make a man foam at the mouth, and be delirious, and that the priests might use such methods :

That it might also sometimes be grimace and artifice :

That the God sometimes gave answers himself, by a voice, or by the motion of his statue, etc.

THIS is what I had to offer concerning Divination, and prophecy in general, the Sibylline Oracles excepted, which shall be examined apart.

THE PROPHECIES relating to our Saviour, and to Christianity, have some of them a mixture of obscurity, and the interpretations which have been given of
meht

them are various : but this ought to be matter neither of wonder, nor of offence, because in the nature of things it cannot be otherwise.

It were indeed to be wondered, if obscurity should not lie upon some of the prophecies, the latest whereof was written at the distance of above two thousand years ago.

Prophetic writings, besides what is common to them with other writings, to grow dark with age, have something peculiar in their nature to render them less intelligible. Prophecies, remote from the time of their accomplishment, and whose completion depends on the concurrence of free agents, are not wont to be delivered very distinctly at first.

The obscurity becomes greater, from the language wherein they are written. The Hebrew, as other Eastern languages, is entirely different from the European. Many things are there left to be supplied by the quickness of the reader's apprehension, which are with us expressed by proper words and

repetitions. Particles disjunctive and ad-
versative, significative marks of connection
and of transition from one subject to another
are often omitted here. Dialogues are car-
ried on, objections answered, comparisons
made, without notice in the discourse; and
through frequent change of persons, tenses,
and numbers, we are left to guess who are
the persons spoken of, which gave no difficul-
ty to them whose living language it was.

The prophetic style is of all other the most
copious this way. It seems to be a sort of
language by itself. It ties itself to no order
or method, but passes from one subject to an-
other insensibly, and suddenly resumes it
again, and often sallies out to the main thing
that was intended in the prophet's thoughts.
The prophets used to act part of what they
were to foretell. Those actions supplying
the place of words, and being not expressed
in the writing, a sort of chasm is sometimes
to be discerned in them; as at other times,
different discourses, or addresses, distinguish-
able in the speaking, by proper signs and
motions, seem now to be connected, though
they have no relation to each other. --- What

What increases the difficulty, is the little or no order that the Collectors have placed the prophecies in, according to the usage of the ancients, who joined together writings upon different occasions, of the same authors, and sometimes of different authors, as if they made but one continued discourse. ---

The mistake might have been in some measure prevented, had the books written by the Jews, after their return from the Babylonian captivity, remained to our days --- But these helps fail us, and not one book writ in the Hebrew tongue, since prophecy ceased, hath escaped the general calamity that hath befallen the Jewish writings. Bp. Chandler Introd. to Defense of Christian.

Oratio Jesaiaë sic est constructa, ut de illius arte, elegantia, ἐνεργείᾳ, pondere, nihil tam magnificum cogitari ac dici possit, quin sit infra ejus meritum. --- Sed id ipsum est, quod interpretem multis in locis impedit, ejusque, studiosi etiam et bonis subsidiis instructi, diligentiam ac judicium valde exercet. Imo vero censeo, nullius mortalis, li-

cet in Hebræis literis docte versati, tantum esse acumen, peritiam, perspicaciam, ut Prophetæ nostro longe pluribus locis reddere potuerit genuinum suum sensum, nisi Lectio antiqua Synagogica per traditionem in Scholis Hebræorum fuisset conservata, ut eam nunc Masoretharum punctulis expressam habemus. Vitringa, Præfat. ad Jesaiam.

Il y a dans les Prophetes beaucoup de mots très-obscurs, qui pouvoient être clairs autrefois, que la langue Hébraïque étoit florissante. Il y a encore plus de passages, où la construction et la liaison du discours ne sont pas faciles à développer, et où l'on ne voit pas bien ce que les Prophetes ont voulu dire. Les allusions fréquentes à des choses, qui nous sont inconnues, soit à l'égard des Juifs, soit à l'égard de la plupart des peuples voisins, dont il ne nous reste aucuns monumens, ne servent pas peu à embarrasser les interpretes. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. xxvii. 381.

Nos sane suas elegantias esse Hebræorum Linguae, quemadmodum ceteris omnibus, non negamus; sed cum cultis et copiosis Linguis conferendam esse non putamus. Monendus

nendus tamen est Lector eam a nobis spectari, non qualis olim dum florebat fortasse fuit, sed qualis superest in Libris Sacris, quibus omnes ejus reliquiae continentur. Multo quidem plura vocabula, pluresque phrasés in usu fuisse, quam quæ in modico volumine leguntur, non ægre fatemur. Sed quoad potest ex ejus reliquiis judicium ferri, inopem eam, ambiguam, et parum cultam fuisse existimamus, quod jam ostendere aggrediemur.

Linguarum omnium laudes in tribus potissimum rebus sitæ sunt, in copia vocabulorum et phrasium, in perspicuitate orationis, ejusque elegantia, cujus a Rhetoribus Canones describuntur; quibus rebus multo Hebraicâ superiores sunt multæ Linguae, et Græca quidem præ ceteris; nec quasi pulcherrimam jactari Hebraicam posse, manifestum est, etc. etc. Le Clerc, Proleg. ad V. T. Diff. i.

Such are the difficulties which attend the interpretation of the prophecies, and which I chose to represent in the words of competent judges.

And

And yet that Jesus was the Messias foretold by the Prophets, appears thus :

The prophets speak of a new and second covenant, which God would make with his people. They mention, not once or twice, but very often, the conversion of the Gentiles from superstition and idolatry to the worship of the true God; they speak of four successive empires, the last of which was the Roman empire, and under this last empire they say that a new and everlasting kingdom should be established by one to whom God should give absolute power and dominion. A great person was to come, who should be Emmanuel, or, God with us, the Son of God, and the Son of man, of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac, and of David; born of a virgin, poor and obscure, and yet one whom David calls his Lord; the Lord to whom the temple belonged, the mighty God, a great king, an everlasting priest, though not of the tribe of Levi; born at Bethlehem, a prophet like unto Moses, but greater than Moses; a prophet who
4 should

should preach to the poor and meek, and proclaim liberty to the captives, and comfort the mourners, and heal the broken-hearted; who should proclaim his Gospel first and principally in the land of Zebulon and Naphthali, in Galilee of the Gentiles; who should have a forerunner in the spirit of Elias, crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; who should instruct in a mild and peaceable manner, without wrath and contention, before the destruction of the temple, in which temple he should be seen and heard; who should enter into Jerusalem meek and humble, and riding on an ass; who should work miracles more than Moses and all the prophets, and miracles of the merciful and beneficent kind, open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf, and make the dumb to praise God, and the lame to leap like an hart; who, notwithstanding all his power and goodness, should be rejected by the greater part of the nation, to whom he should be a stumbling block, who should be despised and afflicted, a man of sorrow, and
cut

cut off from the land of the living ; who should have enemies numerous, powerful, crafty, and wicked, who should be accused by false witnesses, betrayed by an intimate and particular friend, sold for thirty pieces of silver, and the money given for a potter's field, when it had been flung away by the traitor who should not live long after his crime, and whose office should be filled up by another ; that his enemies should use him contumeliously, buffet him, and spit upon him, whilst he should be led **like a lamb** to the slaughter, not opening **his** mouth, and uttering nothing, except intercessions for the transgressors ; that his enemies should strip him of his raiment, divide it amongst themselves, and cast lots upon it, surround him, pierce his hands and his feet, mock him, and shake their heads at him, give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink ; that he should be reduced to so weak and languishing a condition that his bones might all be counted, his heart should melt within him, and his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth ; that he should be brought to the dust of death,

death, that he should be pierced, and yet not one of his bones be broken, that he should be laid in the sepulchre of a rich and honourable man, none of his enemies hindering it; that he should rise again before he had seen corruption, and subdue his enemies, and ascend into heaven, and sit at God's right hand, and be crowned with honour and glory, and see his seed and prosper, and justify many, and be adored by kings and princes; that then Jerusalem should be made desolate, and the Jews dispersed in all lands, and the Gentiles should be converted and flow in to the church. These things were said concerning some person; and they are all applicable to Christ.

God foretold by his prophets in a clear and exact manner many great changes and revolutions, many things relating to the fates and fortunes of the Jews, and of the neighbouring nations with whom they were concerned. The only possible objection which can be made to these predictions, is that perhaps they were written

ten after the event. I shall therefore mention a few, out of several, which cannot be suspected of such a forgery.

§ Ezechiel thus prophesies concerning Ægypt. *Ægypt shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.* xxix. 15.

Ægypt was attacked and oppressed by the Persians, by Cambyfes, by Xerxes, by Darius Nothus, and conquered by Ochus three hundred and fifty years before Christ, and from that time to this day, the Ægyptians never had an Ægyptian king, but have been under the government of the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks. Eusebius was mistaken in dating the subjection of Ægypt to a foreign power from the victory of Augustus at Actium, and the death of Antony and Cleopatra. *Dem. Evang.* vi. p. 299.

§ Isaiah prophesied more than 700, Jeremiah more than 600, and Ezechiel almost 600 years before Christ.

Concerning

Concerning Babylon it was foretold ;
The wild beasts of the desert --- shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever: neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof --- so no man shall dwell there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein.---They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord. --- Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant. --- When thou hast made an end of reading this book, thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates. And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. --- Babylon the glory of kingdoms --- shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall

shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, --- and dragons in their pleasant places. Jer. l. 39. li. 26. 37. 64. Isai. xiii. 19.

Seleucus built Seleucia, before Christ 293, which completed the ruin and desolation of Babylon, a desolation that continues to this day. *Prideaux Connect. P. I. B. viii. p. 448. fol. Ed. and Vitrunga on Isai. xiii.*

Concerning Tyre it was prophesied; *I will make thee like the top of a rock; Thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; --- thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more. Ezech. xxvi. 14. 21. xxvii. 36. xxviii. 19.*

Old Tyre, and new Tyre are no more, and only exist in history. *Tyrus insularis --- tandem pervenit ad eum statum, quo hodie deprehenditur, ut in ipsa Tyro quoque Itinerator Tyrum quærat et non agnoscat : perinde*

perinde ut res se habuit cum Babylone. Qui articuli imminutionis Tyri, et varia ejus fata a me ex Historia demonstrari possent, si vere cum Marshamo aliisque mihi non persuaderem, vaticinium hoc Ezechielis intelligendum esse de Tyro vetere, urbe olim multo majore et potentiore, quam fuit Tyrus nova insularis, licet ea ipsi accensita fuerit; quæ Tyrus insularis post hoc tempus sola culta est, et gloriam Tyri veteris sustinuit:--- dum altera pars ejus, hoc est, Tyrus vetus, plane subverteretur, numquam reædificanda, ab Alexandro dein plane diruta, qui ruderibus lapidibusque ejus usus est in Tyro insulari oppugnanda; ut adeo hodieque ejus Palætyri nihil amplius supersit, nec locus nisi ad signa Veterum Geographorum, eaque non satis certa, demonstrari possit. Vitringa ad Isai. xxiii. p. 703. See also Prideaux Connect.

The city of Tyre, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that

N

glory

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glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, etc, there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, That it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on. *Maundrel's Journey*, p. 48.

In *Genesis* xvi. The Angel said to Hagar --- Thou shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael; --- And he will be a wild man [as savage as a wild Afs] his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

Ishmael was the father of the Arabs, who are, and ever have been, such as
Ishmael

Ishmael is here described, robbers, freebooters, and independent vagabonds.

In the same book, ch. xxvii, Isaac says to his son Esau, *by thy sword shalt thou live*. Esau was the father of the Idumæans, who were always a warlike people, ravaging their neighbours, and of a restless disposition. Such they were in the days of Josephus, who gives them this character :

Θορυβῶδες ἡ ἀτακτον ἔθνος, αἰεὶ τε μέλειων πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, ἡ μελαεολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγῳ δὲ κηλακείαν τῷ δεορμίων, τὰ ὅπλα κινούν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἐορλῷ, εἰς τὰς ὤρξάζεις ἐπειγόμενον. *Turbarum avida, et incondita gens, semperque ad motus suspensa, mutationibus gaudens, minimis petentium blanditiis arma movens, et in prælia festinans, quasi ad festum.* B. J. iv. 4.

The most extraordinary person who ever appeared amongst the Jews was Christ, who without human means, and with a few poor disciples, brought about a greater change, and accomplished a greater undertaking, than any Jew ever conceived and attempted.

If he was the Messias, it is reasonable to suppose that the Prophets, who so accurately and undeniably foretold the things relating to Babylon, Tyre, etc, would give some indications of this sacred person, which was of more importance to the Jews and to mankind; and consequently it is reasonable to think that we rightly understand in general the prophecies which are applied to him. If he falsely assumed the character which he took, yet since he had the art and the success to make many of the Jews, and a great part of the Gentile world believe in him, it was to be expected that some caution would have been given in the prophetic writings to the Jews, that they might not be misled by him, nor expect any prophet after Malachi.

Passages in the Old Testament which have been applied to him, are of four sorts.

I. Accommodations :

II. Direct prophecies :

III. Types :

III. Types :

IV. Prophecies of double senses.

I. Accommodations are passages of the Old Testament, which are adapted by the writers of the New to something that happened in their time, because of some correspondence and similitude. These are no prophecies, though they be said sometimes to be *fulfilled* ; for any thing may be said to be *fulfilled*, when it can be pertinently applied. For example, St. Matthew says ; *All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.* The meaning is apparently no more than this, that what the Psalmist said of his way of teaching, might justly be said of those discourses of Christ.

Thus the Apostles frequently allude to the sacred books ; and thus Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets,

to describe things ^h of which those poets never thought ; and this is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing ; and a passage applied justly, and in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to be agreeably surpris'd, and to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. He has that surprize which the Latin Poet so poetically gives to the tree ;

Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma.

II. Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the Gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense. Upon these we ought principally to insist, when we would prove the truth of our religion from the predictions of the Old Testament ; and of these there is a considerable number. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles, the everlasting kingdom of the Son of man, to be erected during the time of the Roman empire, and the second co-

^h Diogenes the Cynic was remarkable for this sort of wit, and many of his applications, or parodies of Homer are very happy and ingenious.

venant. Such is the *cxth* Psalm; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy foot-stool. etc.* This is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be; it is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his Gospel, the obedience of his subjects, the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman Emperors who persecuted his Church. But of this prophecy something more shall be said, when we come to the reign of Constantine.

III. A type is a rough draught, a less accurate pattern or model, from which a more perfect image or work is made. Types, or typical prophecies, are things which happened and were done in ancient time, and are recorded in the Old Testament, and which are found afterwards to describe or represent something which befel our Lord, and which relates to him and to his Gospel. For example: Under the Law, a lamb was offered for a

sin-offering, and thus an attonement was made for transgressions. John the Baptist calls Christ *the lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world*, and St. Peter tells Christians that they are redeemed *by the blood of Christ, as of a lamb*. Hence we infer and conclude that the lamb was a type of Christ; and upon considering it, we find that it has all that can be required to constitute a type; for it is in many respects a very just and lively representation of Christ. The lamb died for no offence of his own, but for the sins of others; so did Christ: the lamb could not commit sin by his nature, nor Christ by his perfection: the lamb was without bodily spot or blemish; Christ was holy and undefiled: a lamb is meek and patient; such was the afflicted and much injured Son of God.

These types are useful to persons who have already received Christianity upon other and stronger evidence, as they shew the beautiful harmony and correspondence between the Old and New Testament ;

but they seem not proper proofs to satisfy and convince doubters, who will say perhaps, with the school-men, *Theologia symbolica non est argumentativa.*

Unless we have the authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament for it, we cannot conclude with certainty that this or that person, or this or that thing mentioned in the Old Testament is a type of Christ, on account of the resemblance which we may perceive between them: but we may admit it as probable.

Joseph was a Nazarene, as the word may denote a separate person. And though he were not under a Nazarite's vow, yet as he was separate from his brethren, he is called¹ Nazir, a Nazarite, in the more general and lax signification of the word. And there is a very singular correspondence between him and Jesus. Joseph was the beloved son of his father; and so is Jesus too. But as he was hated by his brethren; so Jesus came to his own, and his own received him not. If the sun, moon, and stars did, in a figure, obeisance to Joseph; they

¹ Gen. xlix. 26.

did

did it to Jesus without a trope. Come let us kill him, was the language of the brethren both of Joseph and of Jesus. --- They were both sold for pieces of money; both became servants. The bloody coat of Joseph answers to the blood of Jesus. They were both forced down into Ægypt; both were numbered with transgressors. Joseph is imprisoned with Pharaoh's Butler and Baker; one of them is saved, the other destroyed: Jesus suffers with two Thieves; and one of them is saved also. Joseph sold corn, and saves his people; so does Jesus, the multiplier of loaves, and the Bread of life. If Joseph exhort his brethren to peace, so did Jesus. If they bowed the knee to Joseph, every knee must bow to Jesus. If Joseph were highly exalted upon his sufferings, so was Jesus. They were both men of sorrow, both fruitful branches, both lifted up from a low and sorrowful condition.

Sampson was a Nazarite, in the strictest sense, and a perpetual one, and a type of the Messias too, as the Jews intimate in their two Targums upon Gen. xlix. 18. A very
fit

fit type he was of Jesus Christ. He was so in his very birth: he was the son of a barren woman; Jesus of a Virgin. The tidings of the birth of Sampson were brought to his mother by an Angel; as was that of the birth of Jesus. He shall be a Nazarite, says the Angel, of Sampson; and of Jesus it is said that he dwelt in Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was said by the Prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene. Of Sampson the Angel foretells that he should deliver Israel; and the Angel tells of Jesus, that he should save his people. An Angel was sent to satisfy both Manoah, and Joseph. If the Spirit of God be said to move Sampson; that Spirit descended upon Jesus, and led him into the wilderness. If Sampson marries a Philistine woman, Jesus espoused the Gentiles. Sampson killed the Lion, destroyed the Philistines, removed the Gates of the city, and at his death gave the greatest blow to his enemies: but it is Jesus Christ that overcame the Devil, and the World, and got the conquest of Death and Hell, that destroyed the Devil by his Death, and that raised himself up from death to life.

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life. Kidder's *Demonstr.* of the *Messias*,
ch. iii.

IV. There are prophecies of double senses, which admit no more than two senses, which are nearly of the same kind with typical prophecies, and many of which might perhaps be cleared up by observing that the prophet meant one thing, and the Spirit of God, who spake by him, meant another thing ; for the holy Spirit so over-ruled the prophets as to make them use words which strictly and rigidly interpreted could not mean what themselves intended.

Somewhat of this kind is the prophecy of the high priest Caiaphas ; for the Spirit of God has sometimes spoken by bad men. When the chief priests and Pharisees consulted what they should do with Jesus, the high priest said, *Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.* His meaning was plainly this, that it mattered not whether Christ were guilty or innocent,

innocent, because the public safety absolutely required his death. *And this spake he*, says St. John, *not of himself; but, being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation*, that is, be a sacrifice and attonement for their sins. He prophesied then, and knew it not; for he had himself another intent and meaning.

As Daniel, xii. 8, 9. says that he knew not the meaning of the prediction which he delivered, so the Gentiles, if we may be permitted to introduce them upon this occasion, have remarked concerning their prophets, that they knew not the import of their own prophecies, or rather that they were merely passive, and knew not even that they were speaking. λέγουσι μὴ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ ἑδὲν ὧν λέγουσι, says Socrates, in Plato's *Apol.* and in *Menon.* p. 99. *Ed. Steph.* The Sibyl also says, or is made to say, concerning herself, L. ii.

— οὐτε γὰρ οἶδα

Ὅτι λέγω, κέλεται δὲ Θεός [με] ἕκαστ' ἀγορεύειν.

which is very like the words cited from
Plato.

Plato. *bn* Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 54. *Tunc* [*sacerdos*] *haustâ fontis arcani aquâ, ignarus plerumque literarum et carminum, edit responsa versibus, etc.*

When the Prophets of God spake in his name, they talked and acted like men who knew that they were prophesying. In some of the Pagan Oracles, the God is supposed to use the organs of the man, and the man is supposed to know nothing of the discourse. This appears to have been the case of some Dæmoniacs in the New Testament, in whom the evil Spirit was the speaker. The Pagan prophets therefore either were, or pretended to be out of their senses; and by this argument some sly or credulous people imposed upon Justin Martyr (if he wrote the *Cohortatio*) and made an excuse for the nonsense and the faults against metre in the Sibylline Oracles. The Sibyl, said they, uttered verses when she was inspired; when the inspiration ceased, she remembered nothing that she had said. They who attended her and wrote down her prophecies,

prophecies, being often unskilful and illiterate people, made frequent mistakes, and gave us lame verses and false quantities. *Cohort. ad Græc.* 38. See what is said above, p. 18. See also Smith on *Prophecy*, who has collected passages from Plato and others, to shew that the Pagan prophets were in a sort of phrensy and *delirium. ch. iv.*

This is the very same excuse which the Pagans made for the bad style and other defects of their Oracles. Van Dale *De Orac.* p. 162.

Since no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation, that is, the meaning of prophecies is not what perhaps the prophet himself might imagine in his private judgment of the state of things then present, but holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; there may therefore very possibly, and very reasonably be supposed to be many prophecies, which, though they may have a prior and immediate reference to some nearer event, yet by the Spirit of God (whom those prophecies which
are

are express, shew to have had a further view) may have been directed to be uttered in such words, as may even more properly and more justly be applied to the great event which Providence had in view, than to the intermediate event which God designed only as a pledge or earnest of the other. etc. Clarke's *Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Rel.*

Of omens, to which Pagan superstition paid great regard from the time of Homer, there were several, where the words of the omen had one sense, and the event, as they say, verified it in another sense. Here is a remarkable instance: *Cæcilia Metelli, dum sororis filiæ, adultæ ætatis virgini, more prisco, nocte concubia, nuptialia petit, omen ipsa fecit. Nam cum in sacello quodam, ejus rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset, nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita; fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram, ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret; cui illa, Ego vero, inquit, tibi mea sede cedo. Quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum, ad certi ominis processit eventum: quoniam Metellus*
non

non ita multo post, mortua Cæcilia, virginem de qua loquor, in matrimonium duxit.

Val. Maximus, i. v. 4. The same story is related by Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 46.

Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, says :

Βασιλεύς ὁ τῷ Θεῷ χρησαὶς περὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἡμερῶν ἀποφραδωνουσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμισθεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμπεν ὀρχηκῶν καὶ πρόμαντιν ὥς ὅτι δρυαμνῆς καὶ προῖχομνῆς τὸ νομὸν, αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ναὸν εἰλκεν αὐτὸν. ἡ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐξηγητημνὴ τῆς Σπυρῆς, εἶπεν, Ἀνίκητος εἶ, ὦ παῖ. τότε ἀκῶσας Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι ἐτι ἔφη χρηθεῖν ἐτέρᾳ μανθῶματι, ἀλλὰ ἔχειν ὃν ἐβόλετο παρὰ αὐτῆς χρησμὸν. *Delfos ad Deum de bello consulendum profectus, quod forte dies nefasti essent, quibus non erat solenne oracula edere, primo misit certos, qui vatem orarent ut veniret. Recusante illa, et legem caussante, ascendit ipse, et vi traxit eam ad templum. Quæ illius contentione expugnata ait, Inviictus es, fili. Id audiens Alexander, negavit se alias sortes quærere, sed jam habere quod petierat ab ea oraculum.*

If the words of Caiaphas will admit two senses, it follows not that they will admit ten, or as many as the teeming imagination of a fanatic can suggest ; and prophecies of double senses, if such prophecies there be, may have meanings as determinate and fixed, as if they had only one sense. The same is true of allegorical writings. Horace *Carm.* I. xiv. says,

O navis, referent in mare te novi, etc.

The Commentators on this poem are divided ; one part contend for the literal sense, and the other for the allegorical : but the ode has a double sense. The Poet addresses himself to a real ship, and yet intended, under that image or emblem, to dissuade the Romans from exposing themselves again to a civil war. This will remove some difficulties raised by writers on both sides of the question.

Mr. Warburton made the same remark, and to him I resign it, as unto the first occupier, unless he will let me claim a part of it upon the privilege of friendship,

and as *καὶ τὰ τῷ φίλῳ*. Indeed the interpretation is so unforced and obvious, that I wonder it came not into the mind of many persons.

Moses said of the Paschal lamb, *Neither shall ye break a bone thereof*. St. John says that this was fulfilled in Christ; whence it has been not unreasonably inferred, that those words had, with the most obvious sense, a prophetical, that is, a double sense.

David seems to speak concerning himself when he says, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption*. He intended perhaps no more than this, *Thou shalt not suffer me to come to an untimely end, to be killed by mine enemies and cast into the grave: but then the divine impulse which was upon him, made him use words which should suit exactly to Christ, and to himself only in a loose and figurative sense*. Of this the prophet himself might be sensible, and might know that his words had another import, and that they should be ful-

filled twice, both in the sense which he intended; and in the sublimer sense of the holy Spirit. By these means a shade was cast over the prophecy, and the sense of the Spirit was concealed till the event unfolded it and made it conspicuous; which obscurity seems to have been sometimes necessary, that the ⁱ persons concerned in bringing about the accomplishment might not know what was predicted concerning them and their actions.

In *Deuteronomy* xviii. 18, 19. it is said;
*I will raise them up a Prophet from among
 their brethren, like unto thee, and I will
 put my words in his mouth, and he shall
 speak unto them all that I shall com-*

ⁱ It is proper that men should be treated as free agents: and men are free; at least, they think so, and few of them will give up this persuasion, and suffer themselves to be quibbled out of their senses and experience. Truth and general utility will be found always to coincide; and one would be glad to know what useful purposes can be served from the doctrine of fatalism. The fatalist will say; It will make a man humble. It is as likely to make him a mathematician, or a poet.

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mand him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. And x 15. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet in the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.

1. The intention of Moses seems to have been to administer some consolation to the people who would soon be deprived of him, and in him, of the best friend and ruler, that any nation ever enjoyed. Therefore he took occasion to assure them that they should not be destitute of a prophet, and that God would, in compassion and kindness to them, supply the loss which they would sustain by the death of their deliverer and conductor.

2. When the Law was delivered with dreadful pomp, and the voice of God was heard, and his majesty appeared in formidable splendor, the people were extremely terrified; for it was an opinion common both amongst Jews and Pagans that no man could safely approach the

Deity, and that death, or some great evil, was the consequence of beholding him. See Le Clerc on *Gen.* xvi. 13. Therefore they besought Moses to intreat for them that they might no more be brought into such danger. For this reason, and to calm their fears, Moses assured them that for the time to come God would speak to them not in person, but by a Mediator, by a prophet, by a man like themselves. *The Lord thy God, says he, will raise up unto thee a Prophet --- according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken : I will raise them up a prophet.*

3. The Pagan nations had their Gods, their Oracles, their soothsayers and magicians, and there was great danger lest the people of Israel should go and consult them, and so fall into idolatry ; and in fact all these iniquities ensued in following times.

times. That nothing might be wanting to guard against this corruption, and that the transgressors might be inexcusable, God positively forbid them to go after the gods, the priests, and the prophets of other nations, and promised them that they should never want a prophet of their own. Thus after the death of Moses, they had Joshua, and Samuel, and Elijah, and Elisha, and other illustrious men, besides the high priest by whom they used to consult God upon all important occasions. This interpretation is favoured by the context. *There shall not be found among you one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer --- For these nations which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners: but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken. --- I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like*

unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.

Some understand this of a succession of prophets in general, and more particularly of the Messias, who of all the prophets resembled Moses the most.

Others think that the Messias alone is here foretold, since the words in a strict and accurate sense represent him alone.

Each of these interpretations has had learned defenders;

magno se judice quæque tuetur.

But I observe

1. Both these interpretations agree in this, that Christ is here promised and foretold, nor indeed is the first very discordant from the second; for if Moses meant in general every prophet, and any prophet who should succeed him, the Messias cannot

not be excluded, and if the Messias resembles Moses in a particular manner, the prophecy points him out above all the rest.

2. St. Stephen and St. Peter say that Jesus Christ is the prophet foretold by Moses, and Christ himself had probably this passage in view, when he said, *If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me.*

3. Though Moses might perhaps mean a succession of prophets, yet the Spirit of God, who was then upon him, guided him to use words which should describe the Messias much better than any other prophet. The other prophets were only so far like unto Moses that they were prophets, but in many respects they were not like him. In the last chapter of Deuteronomy, there is an addition which was made to the Books of Moses, long after his death, by some prophet probably, who inserts the following remark; *And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses:* which has a manifest reference to
the

the prophecy of which we are treating, and may be thus understood; Although Moses said that the Lord would raise up one like unto him, yet this prophecy has not yet been accomplished in a strict and full sense: there has not yet arisen one like unto him; but this great prophet is still to come.

This last chapter of Deuteronomy seems to have been composed by two authors, and at two different times; the first part down to the ninth verse soon after the death of Moses, the three last verses long afterwards.

Add to this, that the resemblance between Moses and Christ is so very great and striking, that it is impossible to consider it fairly and carefully, without seeing and acknowledging that he must be foretold where he is so well described.

Ammonius wrote a book commended by Eusebius and Jerom, Περὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως ἔν Ἰησοῦ Συμφωνίας, *De consensu Moſis ac Jeſu*, which is not extant. *Euseb. E. H.*
vi.

vi. 19. Whether this treatise was designed to shew the resemblance and agreement between the persons, or between their doctrines, we cannot say: perhaps it was the latter.

Eusebius has treated the subject, on which I am entering, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, L. iii. p. 90, etc. *Ed. Paris.* 1628. but as he was hastening to other points, he has not discussed this so fully as to discourage those who should be inclined to attempt the same thing. I shall therefore endeavour to make several improvements upon his remarks; and additions to them.

1. First, and which is the principal of all, Moses was a lawgiver, and the mediator of a covenant between God and man: so was Christ. Here the resemblance is the more considerable, because no other prophet besides them executed this high office.

The other prophets were only interpreters and enforcers of the Law, and in
this

this were greatly inferior to Moses. The Messias could not be like unto Moses in a strict sense, unless he were a legislator^k. He must give a law to men, and consequently a more excellent law, and a better covenant than the first; for if the first had been perfect, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, there could have been no room for a second.

2. Other prophets had revelations in dreams and visions, but Moses talked with God, with the *Αίγιον*, face to face: so Christ spake that which he had seen with the Father.

If there be a prophet among you, says God to Aaron and Miriam, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faith-

^k By this prediction Moses guarded the people against the prejudice which his own authority was like to create against a new Lawgiver; telling them beforehand, that, when the great Prophet came, their obedience ought to be transferred to him. *Bp. Sherlock, Disc. ii.*

ful

ful in all my house; with him I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall be behold. Num. xii.

All the prophets of the Old Testament saw visions and dreamed dreams, all the prophets of the New were in the same state. St. Peter had a vision, St. John saw visions, St. Paul had visions and dreams. But Christ neither saw visions, nor dreamed a dream, but had an intimate and immediate communication with the Father, he was in the Father's bosom, and he, and no man else had seen the Father. --- Moses and Christ are the only two in all the sacred history, who had this communication with God. Bp. Sherlock Disc. vi.

3. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the cruelty of a tyrant, and from the destruction of all the male children: so was Christ.

4. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king: so did Christ, when his parents carried him into Ægypt.

5. Moses

5. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction: Christ had the kingdoms of the world offered him by Satan, and rejected them, and when the people would have made him a king, he hid himself, chusing rather to suffer affliction.

6. Moses, says St. Stephen, *was learned, ἐπαυδίσθη, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in deeds*; and Josephus, *Ant. Jud. ii. 9.* says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years, which is taken from Jewish tradition, and which of itself is highly probable: St. Luke observes of Christ, that *he increased (betimes) in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man*, and his discourses in the temple with the Doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. The difference was that Moses acquired his early knowledge by human instruction, and Christ by a divine *afflatus*. To both of them might be applied what Callimachus elegantly feigns of Jupiter:

Ὅξ' ὅ

Ὅξυ δ' ἀνήβησας, Ταχινὸι δέ τι ἦλθον ἔσλοι·
Ἀλλ' ἐτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσαιο πάνηα τέλεια.

*Swift was thy growth, and early was thy
bloom,*

But earlier wisdom crown'd thy infant days.

7. Moses delivered his people from cruel oppression and a heavy bondage : so did Christ from the worse tyranny of sin and Satan.

8. Moses contended with the Magicians, and had the advantage over them so manifestly, that they could no longer withstand him, but were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted : Christ ejected evil Spirits, and received the same acknowledgments from them.

9. Moses assured the people whom he conducted, that if they would be obedient, they should enter into the happy land of promise, which land was usually understood by the wiser Jews to be an emblem and a figure of that eternal and
celestial

celestial kingdom to which Christ opened an entrance.

10. Moses reformed the nation corrupted with Ægyptian superstition and idolatry: Christ restored true religion.

11. Moses wrought a great variety of miracles: so did Christ; and in this the parallel is remarkable, since besides Christ *there arose not a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.*

12. Moses was not only a law-giver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest. He is called a king, *Deut. xxxiii. 5.* and he had indeed, tho' not the pomp, and the crown and sceptre, yet the authority of a king, and was the supreme magistrate; and the office of priest he often exercised: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. In the interpretation of *Deut. xxxiii. 5.* I prefer the sense of Grotius and Selden to Le Clerc's. The
parallel

parallel between Moses and Christ requires it; and no objection can be made to it. The Apostolical Constitutions also, if their judgment be of any weight, call Moses *high priest and king*, ὁ ὑψηλὸς ἱερεὺς καὶ βασιλεὺς. vi. 3.

13. Moses, says Theodoret, married an Æthiopian woman, at which his relations were much offended, and in this he was a type of Christ, who espoused the Church of the Gentiles, whom the Jews were very unwilling to admit to the same favours and privileges with themselves. But I should not chuse to lay a great stress upon this typical similitude, though it is ingenious.

14. Moses fasted in the desert forty days and nights before he gave the Law: so did Elias, the restorer of the Law; and so did Christ before he entered into his ministry.

15. Moses fed the people miraculously in the wilderness: so did Christ, with bread, and with doctrine; and the manna which descended from heaven, and the

P

loaves

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loaves which Christ multiplied, were proper images of the spiritual food which the Saviour of the world bestowed upon his disciples.

Our fathers, said the Jews, did eat manna in the desert forty years, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Jesus said unto them, My Father (now) giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world. I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst. John vi.

The metaphors of hungry and thirsting after virtue and knowledge, and of eating and drinking them, and the representation of benefits of any kind under the expressions of food and drink, have been common in all writers sacred and profane.

St. Paul says to the Corinthians --- *All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed*

passed through the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.

Whether the passage of the Israelites through the sea, and under the cloud, the water issuing from the rock which Moses smote, and the manna which descended from heaven, were types intended to be fulfilled in Christ and in the benefits and privileges of Christianity, or whether the Apostle referred to these things by way of allusion, similitude, and accommodation, I determine not.

16. Moses led the people through the sea: Christ walked upon it, and enabled Peter to do so.

17. Moses commanded the sea to retire and give way: Christ commanded the winds and the waves to be still.

18. Moses brought darkness over the land: the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion. And as the darkness which

was spread over Ægypt was followed by the destruction of ¹ their first born, and of Pharaoh and his host; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews, when, in the metaphorical and prophetic style, and according to Christ's express prediction,

¹ Mr. Wasse had a conjecture, that the untimely death of Pharaoh's first-born son, who was, perhaps, better beloved than his father, gave occasion to the Song, which the Greeks called *Linus*, and which they had from the Ægyptians: ἔστι γὰρ Αἰγυπτίῃς ὁ ΛῖνⓄ καλεῖται Ⓞ Μανέρως. ἔφασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου πάντα μενοχρέα χρέεσθαι. Σποθανόντ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄνωγον, θρήνοισι τέποισι ὡς Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ αἰοδῆν τε ταύτην πρώτῳ καὶ μένῳ (φίσι χρέεσθαι. *Vocatur autem Linus Ægyptiace Maneros: quem Ægyptii tradiderunt, quum filius unicus extitisset primi Ægypti regis, prematuraque morte decessisset, his lamentis ab Ægyptiis fuisse decoratum: et cantilenam hanc primam eamque solam ipsos habuisse.* Herodotus ii. 79.

It may be observed, though it is a trifle, that Gronovius gives us ΛῖνⓄ circumflexed, but the first syllable is short in the best writers, and Moschus says *Epitaph. Bion.*

ΑΙΛΙΝΑ μοι σοναχῆτε νάπαι, καὶ Δώριον ὕδαρ.
Sophocles *Ajac.* 632. Αἴλινον, αἴλινον.

the

the sun was darkened and the moon withdrew her light, and the stars fell from heaven, the Ecclesiastical and Civil State of the Jews was overturned, and the rulers of both were destroyed.

19. The face of Moses shone, when he descended from the mountain: the same happened unto Christ at his transfiguration on the mountain. Moses and Elias appeared then with him, to shew that the Law and the Prophets bare witness to him; and the Divine Voice said, *This is my beloved Son, hear ye him*, alluding most evidently to the prediction of Moses, --- *unto him shall ye hearken.*

20. Moses cleansed one leper: Christ many.

21. Moses foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their disobedience: so did Christ.

22. Moses chose and appointed seventy elders to be over the people: Christ chose such a number of disciples.

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23. The Spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied: Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples.

24. Moses sent twelve men to spy out the land which was to be conquered: Christ sent his Apostles into the world to subdue it by a more glorious and miraculous conquest.

25. Moses was victorious over powerful kings, and great nations: so was Christ, by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his Church.

26. Moses conquered Amalec by lifting and holding up both his hands all the day: Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. This resemblance has been observed by some of the ancient Christians, and ridiculed by some of the moderns, but without sufficient reason, I think.

27. Moses interceded for transgressors and caused an attonement to be made for them,

them, and stopped the wrath of God: so did Christ.

28. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people, by sprinkling them with blood: Christ with his own blood.

29. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book: Christ did more, he died for sinners.

30. Moses instituted the Passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood ^m

^m Levit. xvii. 11. *The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an attonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an attonement for the soul. Therefore I said unto the Children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, etc.*

Here appears the reason of this strict and often repeated prohibition: blood was appointed as the attonement for sin, it was set apart and sanctified for that purpose; and consequently, when the use of the altar, and sacrifices ceased, at the death of Christ, the prohibition of eating blood should cease also, and the precept concerning it in the Acts of the Apostles seems to have been prudential and temporary.

protected the people from destruction: Christ was that paschal lamb.

31. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds: Christ was that serpent. *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.*

The serpent being an emblem of Satan, may be thought an unfit image to represent Christ: but the serpents which bit the people of Israel are called *fiery serpents, Seraphim*. Num. xxi. 6. Now, *Sunt boni Angeli Seraphim, sunt mali Angeli Seraphim, quos nulla figura melius quam pre-*

Of clean animals, the blood was to be shed and thrown away: of unclean, no part was to be eaten: of clean fishes, the blood seems to be no where expressly forbidden, perhaps because their blood was never offered up in sacrifice.

The eating of a clean animal, that died of itself, is not forbidden with the same rigour; perhaps because the blood was coagulated, and not in a condition to be offered up to God. See *Levit. xvii. 15*, and *Deut. xiv. 21*.

stere

stere exprimas. Et tali usum primum humani generis seductorem putat Bachai. Grotius. Therefore Christ, as he was the great and good Angel, the Angel of God's presence, the Angel καὶ ἐξοχλῶ, might be represented as a kind Seraph, a beneficent healing Serpent, who should abolish the evil introduced by the seducing lying Serpent, and who like the serpent of Moses should destroy the serpents of the Magicians; as one of those gentle serpents, who are friends to mankind;

Nunc quoque nec fugiunt hominem, nec vulnere lædunt,

Quidque prius fuerint, placidi meminere dracones.

Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 601.

Εἰσὶ τῷ πατρὶ Θήλας ἱσοὶ ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων ἔδαμῶς δηλήμονες. Herodotus ii. 74.

*Possemus hinc, says Le Clerc, incipere ostendere similitudinem Serpentis ænei, et Christi ipsius; nam ut nemo credidisset salu-
tiferum futurum esse Israëlitis ab chersydris demorsis, conspectum ænei serpentis: ita*

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nec quisquam poterat, eo tempore quo res contigit, sperare hominis crucifixi cognitionem unicam fore viam, qua homines ad fidem Deo habendam, parendumque Evangelio, ex omnibus gentibus brevi adducendi essent. Verum hoc aliaque id genus Theologis latius diducenda atque illustranda relinquimus. Vide eos ad Joan. iii. 14.

In Isaias vi. 2. etc. the Seraphim are represented as praising God. Origen had a notion that these Seraphim were two, and that they were the *Son* and the *Spirit* of God, a paradox, which, though scarcely to be maintained, yet deserved not the severe censures which Jerom in his wrath was pleased to bestow upon it. See Vitranga. Eusebius says something very like it, *Præp. Evang.* vii. 15. where the notes of Vigerus may be consulted.

Æsculapius, the God of physic, and of all the Pagan Deities supposed to be the most beneficent, appeared, according to Pagan Tradition, in the form of a serpent, and a serpent was sacred to him, and is described twisting round his rod.

32. All the affection which Moses shewed towards the people, all the cares and toils which he underwent on their account, were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; and sometimes they threatened to stone him: the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits.

33. Moses was ill used by his own family; his brother and sister rebelled against him: there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him.

34. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavour to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain; in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness, except two: Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the
same

same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

35. Moses was very meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth: so was Christ.

36. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead: by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers.

37. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances. Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him. *The Lord, says Moses to them, was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither, but thou shalt die. Deut. i. 37.* Moses therefore went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when *his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.* Christ suffered

ferred for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent: their sufferings were of another kind.

38. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay: nor could the Jews find the body of Christ.

39. Lastly, as Moses a little before his death promised the people that *God would raise them up a prophet like unto him*; so Christ, taking leave of his afflicted disciples, told them, *I will not leave you comfortless, I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.*

Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let
us

us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such an one, then have we found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.

But this is not all, for Moses adds ; *And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* The Jews rejected Christ, and God rejected them, and gave them up to destruction; and as their offence against the Messias, and their behaviour after his death, was wicked beyond measure and beyond example; so God fulfilled the prophecies of Moses concerning them, that he would require it of them, and that he would make their plagues wonderful, would bring upon them calamities beyond measure and beyond example.

It may be observed that a person can be produced, who was very like to Moses, namely,

namely, *Bacchus*, who was an Ægyptian God. Huetius, in his ⁿ *Demonstratio Evangelica*, has with much accuracy and learning drawn up the comparison, and the resemblance is so great, in so many particulars, that it cannot be supposed accidental: but then, first, *Bacchus* is a poetical deity, and the accounts of him are taken from fabulous history; secondly, many of the actions of the Jewish Legislator were in all probability ascribed to him, and he is ^o *Moses* in disguise: so the parallel ceases.

ⁿ A book, which has its use and value, but is more remarkable for erudition than for reasoning; which made a French writer say of it, in the words of Terence,

— *ut te, cum tua*

Monstratione, magnus perdat Jupiter!

^o The Ægyptians, as Herodotus tells us ii. 42. had a story concerning their God *Hercules*, Ἡρακλέα θελήσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸ Δία, καὶ τὸ σὺν εἶθελαι ὀφθῆναι ὑπὸ αὐτῷ τέλει ᾧ, ἐπεὶ τε λιπαρέειν τὸ Ἡρακλέα, τὸ Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κείον ἐκδείξαντα πρέχειν αὐτῷ τε τὸ κεφαλὴν ἀπολαμόντα τοῦ κροῦ, καὶ ἐκδιδῶτα τὸ νάκθον, ἔγω οἱ ἐωϋτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. *Quod Jupiter, quum ab Hercule eum cernere volente,*
The

The Oeconomy of the Jewish and of the Christian Church is similar, in many respects, and upon the whole, though in smaller occurrences the resemblance ought not to be too much urged; for so any thing may be made of any thing.

The parallel between Moses and Christ has been examined, in which we are authorised to seek and to expect a strong resemblance, both from the Old Testament, which declares that a prophet should arise like unto Moses, and from the New, which declares that Christ was that prophet. It deserves consideration, whether this consequence may be deduced, that, if Moses was a type of Christ, the people whom he delivered and conducted may be a type of the people to whom Christ

cerni nollet, tandem, quia orando instabat Hercules, hoc commentus sit, ut, amputato arietis capite, pelleque villosa, quam illi detraxerat, induta sibi, ita sese Herculi ostenderit.

This Hercules seems to have been Moses, who said to God, *I beseech thee, shew me thy glory. And he said, Thou canst not see my face — etc.* Exod. xxxiii.

was

was sent, and of the church which he established.

If this should be admitted as a probability (and it should not be offered as any thing more than conjectural) we may say that the generation which fell in the wilderness represents the Jews who rejected Christ, and perished for their disobedience.

The land of promise and of rest was a symbol of the church of Christ.

The idolatry and iniquities of the Jewish nation are too exactly paralleled by the corruption which overspread the Christian Church.

Many other resemblances might be pointed out which shall be omitted, since we cannot make it sufficiently evident that they were not accidental.

The destruction of Jerusalem, and that *second* coming of the Son of man to take vengeance of his foes, may perhaps prefigure the destruction of Antichristian tyranny, and the manifestation of Christ, that is, of his power and spirit; and then may commence a better and happier *Æra*, and such a renovation as may be called,

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New

New heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

The correspondencies of types and anti-types, though they are not themselves proper proofs of the truth of a doctrine, yet they may be very reasonable confirmations of the foreknowledge of God; of the uniform view of Providence under different dispensations; of the analogy, harmony, and agreement between the Old Testament and the New. The words in the Law concerning one particular kind of death; He that is hanged, is accursed of God, can hardly be conceived to have been put in upon any other account, than with a view and foresight of the application made of it by St. Paul. The analogies between the Paschal lamb, and the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world; between the Ægyptian bondage, and the tyranny of Sin; between the baptism of the Israelites in the sea and in the cloud, and the baptism of Christians; between the passage through the wilderness, and through the present world; between Jesus [Joshua] bringing the people into the promised land, and Jesus Christ being the Captain

Captain of Salvation to believers; *between the Sabbath of rest promised to the people of God in the earthly Canaan, and the eternal rest promised in the heavenly Canaan; between the liberty granted from the time of the death of the High priest, to him that had fled into a city of refuge, and the redemption purchased by the death of Christ; between the high priest entering into the holy place every year with the blood of others, and Christ's once entering with his own blood into heaven itself; to appear in the presence of God for us: these, I say, and innumerable other analogies, between the shadows of things to come, of good things to come, the shadows of heavenly things, the figures for the time then present, patterns of things in the heavens, and the heavenly things themselves; cannot, without the force of strong prejudice, be conceived to have happened by mere chance, without any foresight or design. There are no such analogies, much less such series of analogies found in the books of mere enthusiastic writers living in such remote ages from each other. It is much more*

credible, and reasonable to suppose, what St. Paul affirms, that these things were our examples; and that in the uniform course of God's government of the world, all these things happened unto them of old for examples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. And hence arises that aptness of similitude, in the application of several legal performances to the morality of the Gospel, that it can very hardly be supposed not to have been originally intended. Clarke's *Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig.*

THE REMAINING part of this book shall contain remarks on the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, the Sibylline Oracles, and some passages from ancient poets cited by the Fathers, the works of Barnabas, and of Hermas, the Recognitions of Clemens, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Epistles of Ignatius, etc.

AMONGST the ancient Christian books which claim our attention are the

Apostolical

Apostolical Constitutions, which, if they are genuine, are a sacred treatise, and of equal authority with the New Testament; and if they are not genuine, are an infamous imposture, for which the Forger well deserved the punishment inflicted by the Roman Laws on the *Falsarii*. *Digest*. l. xlviii. *Tit.* x. 1.

The authors of them are, it is pretended, the twelve Apostles and St. Paul gathered together, with Clemens their *amanuensis*.

If their authority should appear only ambiguous, it would be our duty to reject them, lest we should adopt as divine doctrines *the commandments of men*; for since each Gospel contains the main parts of Christianity, and might be sufficient *to make men wise unto salvation*, there is less danger in diminishing than in enlarging the number of Canonical books, and less evil would have ensued from the loss of one of the four Gospels, than from the addition of a fifth and spurious one.

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But

But the Constitutions are a medley of old treatises jumbled together, enlarged, and adulterated without much wit or judgment by some Compiler after the days of Constantine.

And yet they have their value, and may be useful on many accounts, and contain several things of antiquity relating to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and extracts from old Liturgies, though the whole be so blended with insertions of a later date, that it is now beyond human skill to make the separation with any certainty.

I offered some remarks upon them in *Disc. vi.* on the *Christ. Rel.* and I shall here add a few more.

They have a Chapter *Περὶ Χαρισμάτων*, in which they observe that the word *Χάρισμα* means either the gift of working miracles, or the gift of spiritual and Christian graces; that the first is conferred on some, the second on all true Christians; and that miraculous powers

are not so much for the use of Christians, as for the sake and for the conviction of unbelievers. viii. 1. Baptism also and the Lord's Supper are sometimes called *Χαρίσμαλα*. Ignatius saw Polycarp at Smyrna — *ἡ πνευματικῶν ἀπὸ κοινωνήσεως χαρισμάτων* — *et quum eum spiritualium charismatum participem fecisset* — Martyr. Ignat. § iii. *Πνευματικὰ χαρίσμαλα videntur hic significare symbola eucharistica. Certe baptisma non raro apud veteres vocatur χάρισμα. Clericus.*

In the form for the ordination of Presbyters, they pray that the Presbyter may have the gift of healing conferred upon him — *ὅπως πληθεῖς ἐνεργημάτων ἱατρικῶν, ἡ λόγος διδασκλικῶς, ἐν πραότητι παιδεύῃς ἡμᾶς τὸ λαόν.* — *ut repletus operationibus vim sanandi habentibus, ac sermone ad docendum apto, erudiat cum mansuetudine populum tuum.* viii. 16. Taken, I suppose, from 1 Cor. xii. 9. *ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσμαλα ἰαμάτων.*

They introduce the Apostles, one or all, sometimes speaking and commanding in their own names, and sometimes citing the New Testament as we now cite it.

This

This single observation is sufficient to overthrow the Book. Jesus Christ, say they, began to do before he began to teach, *ὡς πρὶν λέγει ὁ Λεκάς, Ὡν ἡρξάτο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν.* *This is wanting in one of the MSS.* says Le Clerc, and seems to have been struck out by some Critic, who thought it wrong to introduce the Apostles citing the testimony of Luke. But it signified nothing to strike out one passage, whilst five hundred of the same kind were left. Besides, it was all in vain, because though the citation here were taken away, the allusion to it would remain, ii. 6.

They repeat it over and over, lest Christians should chance to forget it, that a Bishop is a God, a God upon earth, and a King, and infinitely superior to a king, and ruling over rulers and kings. They command Christians to give him tribute as to a king, and to reverence him as a God, and to pay him tithes and first-fruits, according, say they, to God's command; and they strictly forbid Christians to make any enquiry, and to take
any

any notice, whether he disposes of these revenues well or ill, ii. 11. 26. 35. *et passim* : which seems to have been drawn up at a time when there were Christian Emperors. Here is strange language indeed! even far beyond all *Eminencies* and *Holinesses*.

Le Clerc had a suspicion that Leontius, an Arian Bishop of the fourth century, was the inventor, or the interpolator of the Constitutions. Le Clerc received the hint from *Thomas Bruno*, who was a learned and ingenious man, and a Canon of Windsor in the days of Charles II. The learned *Isaac Vossius*, who also was Canon of Windsor, dedicated to him his Book *de Sibyllinis Oraculis*. Bruno conjectured that Leontius might be the Collector of the greater part of the *Apostolical Canons*, and says many things in favour of Leontius. Speaking of the religious controversies in the time of Constantius, which were not very edifying, he says; *Et certe præter unum Athanasium inter orthodoxos, et Leontium inter Arianos, vix ullos reperias*

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*rias homines quadratos, dictis, factis, formulis suis Fidei stantes; sed potius versipelles, chamæleontes, nunc in hanc, nunc in illam partem paratos, prout ferebat animus τὸ ἑκαστὸν ἄνθρωπον apud Imperatorem; qui vel eunuchos Imperatorios opibus ecclesiæ et nummis, vel mulierculas ἐν γυναικωτικῇ sermonum lenociniis et blanditiis pelliciebant in partes suas, omniaque pro libitu suo agebant, ferebant, cæteris majore ex parte, more pecudum, non qua eundum erat, sed qua ibatur, prospicientibus. etc. Judic. de Canon. in the second Vol. of the *Patres Apostolici*.*

It is certain that Leontius carried his head high enough. He reprimanded the Emperor Constantius for meddling in Ecclesiastical affairs, and sent word to the Empress Eusebia, who is said to have been haughty, that he would not comply with her request, and pay her a visit, unless she would promise to bow down before him and receive his blessing, and then to stand up, whilst he sat, till he should give her leave to sit down; which put the

the Lady into a violent rage. See Till-
mont *Hist. des Emp.* iii. 381. or Le Clerc
Dissert. de Constit. in the *Patr. Apost.*

I know not whether Leontius learned
from the Jews to take this state upon him.
Their Rabbins say that the High-priest
never went to court, but when he had a
mind, and that then he sat before the
King, and the King stood up in his pre-
sence. See Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, i. 4.

It is, I believe, labour lost to en-
quire who the Compiler was: we can
only say of this pretended Clemens, that
he was long-lived; and if any one should
ever compile a book *de Macrobiis*, or
de Incredilibus, like those of *Phlegon*
and *Palæphatus*, he ought to take notice
of our Author, for he flourished in
the first, second, third, and fourth cen-
turies. It is no wonder therefore if
his memory failed him sometimes, and if
he fell into some small mistakes. But there
have been two men, since the Christian
Æra, who in length of days greatly sur-
passed him; *Josephus Ben Gorion*, who,
according

according to his own chronology, lived to be a thousand years old, and the *Wandering Jew*, who was seen by an Armenian Bishop five hundred years ago, and is supposed to be still alive, and pursuing his travels.

The Constitutions confirm many frivolous precepts by texts of Scripture which in these critical days would be thought inconclusive. For example; A Vintner's money must not be accepted by the Bishop. Why? Because *Isaias*, i. 22. according to the LXX, says, *Thy vintners mix wine with water*. iv. 6. But it would be endless to produce their misinterpreted and misapplied citations of Scripture, both Canonical, and Apocryphal.

The antiquity of *Solomon's Song* is sufficiently established by the Hebrew original, and by the version of the LXX, and it is mentioned in the LXXVIth Apostolical Canon. It has been observed that it is never cited in the New Testament. It is mentioned as a book of the old Testament by Melito, in Eusebius E. H. iv.

26. and Hippolytus and Origen wrote commentaries upon it: whether any Christian before them has cited it, I know not. A Writer, whom I need not mention, is for uncanonizing it, but there is nothing new under the sun; Theodorus Mopsuestenus was of the same mind, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was a learned Bishop, a bold critic, and an enemy to allegorical interpretations. Leontius of Jerusalem finds great fault with him, and says, --- *Imo et sanctorum sanctissimum Canticum canticorum ab omnibus divinarum rerum peritis et ab omnibus Ecclesiis cuncti orbis notum, et a Judæis inimicis crucis Christi in admiratione habitum, libidinosè pro sua et mente et lingua meretricia interpretrans, sua supra modum incredibili audacia ex libris sacris abscidit.* It seems, Theodorus took the Spouse in that book to be one of Solomon's queens. See Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* ix. 159.

This Theodorus, and Origen, are looked upon as the fathers of a doctrine, which in the fifth century was called Pelagianism, or

Semi-Pelagianism. Cardinal Noris charges them with it in his *Historia Pelagiana*; and I verily believe that he does them no great wrong, and that they had notions entirely different from those of Augustin; and of Jansenius, about predestination, and that the arguments of the Bishop of Hippo, or of the Bishop of Ypres, would have converted neither the one nor the other.

The Anti-Jansenists of the Church of Rome condemn the predestinarian doctrines of Luther, and Calvin, and Jansenius, but excuse Augustin, and pretend to agree with this Latin Father, whilst they plainly reject his notions. They are not so ingenuous as the Monk, who being pressed with an argument taken from St. Paul, replied, that *St. Paul might as well have refrained from saying some things which smelt of the fagot.*

Chardin tells us that the sublimest and best esteemed poetry among the Persians is that which sets out religious subjects in the phrase of libertines. Whether this be applicable

applicable to Solomon's Song, I will not take upon me to determine. There are also many passages in the Old, and some in the New Testament, where things spiritual are couched under phrases, which the reserved modesty of modern language will hardly permit us to illustrate.

The Constitutions however twice allude to Solomon's Song, and they seem to have borrowed the allusions from the *larger* Epistles of Ignatius.

Heretics, say they, are ἀλωπέκων μερίδες καὶ χαμαιζήλων ἀμπελώνων ἀφανισαί. *vulpium partes, et vinearum humiliorum vastatores.* vi. 13.

And again ; ἡ ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ ἀφθεύροντες, ὡς ἀλώπεκες μικροὶ ἀμπελῶνα. *qui Ecclesiam Dei devastant, sicut parvæ vulpes vineam.* vi. 18.

Ignatius, *Epist. Interpol. ad Philad.* iii. ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορῶς ἀμπελῶν. *est vulpes corruptrix vineæ Christi.*

Cantic. ii. 15. Πιάσατε ἡμῶν ἀλώπεκας μικρὰς ἀφανίζουσας ἀμπελῶνας. *Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines.*

So, according to the Constitutions, and the interpolated Ignatius, the *Heretics* are the little foxes who spoil the vineyards. I blame not the allusion; it is pretty enough, and better than the remark of a Commentator, whom I will not name, who explaining 1 Kings x. 22. *Once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks*, says that by the *Apes* we are to understand ^p *Heretics*. He bears somewhat hard upon the poor ape, who is an occasional conformist, and an imitator of his betters. What will they say to this allusion, who reject Solomon's Song, and yet receive the Constitutions, and the larger Epistles of Ignatius?

^p He might as well have said, since he would allegorize, that the *Apes* are *Informers*, and *Back-biters*; for the bite of an Ape is reckoned dangerous, and so is the bite of a Sycophant. Δῆλιμα Συκοφάνεια is mentioned as incurable by Aristophanes, *Plut.* 886.

But

But it would not be fair to conceal a passage in Theocritus, i. 48.

— ἀμφὶ δέ μιν δὺ ἀλώπεκες· αἱ μὲν αὖ ὄρχας
Φοίῃ ζινομβρία τὰν τρώξιμον.

--- quem circum duæ vulpes : altera per
ordines vitium

Incedit, lædens maturas uvas.

And v. 112.

Μισέω τὰς δαυυκέρκας ἀλώπεκας, αἱ τὰ Μί-
κων

Αἰεὶ φοιῶσαι τὰ παθέσπερα ραγίζονσι.

Odi densicaudes vulpes, quæ vites Miconis
Semper frequentantes, vesperi ex illis uvas
comedunt.

for here also are foxes spoiling the vine-
yards; and who knows but somebody may
take it into his head to say that the Con-
stitutions and Ignatius borrowed the hint
from the Poet?

This interpolated Ignatius cites the Can-
ticles as a sacred book, *Ad Ephes.* xvii.

Μύρον ᾧ, φησιν, ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνομάζε· διὰ τῶν
νεάνιδες ἡγάπησαν ζε, εἰλκυσαν ζε, ἐπίσω εἰς
ὁσμὴν μύρων ζε δραμέμεθα. Unguentum enim,

R inquit,

Cantic. ii. 15. Πιάσατε ἡμῶν ἀλώπεκας μικρὰς ἀφανίζουσας ἀμπελῶνας. *Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines.*

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And v. 112.

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κων

Αἰεὶ Φοίῳσαι τὰ ποθέσπερα ραγίζονσι.

Odi densicaudes vulpes, quæ vites Miconis
Semper frequentantes, vesperi ex illis uvas
comedunt.

for here also are foxes spoiling the vine-
yards; and who knows but somebody may
take it into his head to say that the Con-
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Μύρον ᾧ, φησιν, ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνομάζε· διὰ τῶν
νεάνιδες ἡγάπησάν σε, εἰλκυσάν σε, ἐπίσω εἰς
ὄσμιν μύρων σε δραμέμεθα. Unguentum enim,

R inquit,

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inquit, *effusum est nomen tuum : propterea adolescentulæ dilexerunt te, traxerunt te, post te in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus.* From *Cant.* i. 3, 4.

It seems to appear from the Constitutions, that the curing of Dæmoniacs was a work of time, and that the attempt did not always succeed: for the Congregation is made to consist of the Clergy, the Catechumens, the Energumens or Dæmoniacs, the Φωτισζόμενοι or those who were preparing to receive baptism, the Penitents, and the Faithful; there is a form of prayer for the Energumens, that God would deliver them, viii. 7. and it is said that a Dæmoniac may be instructed in the faith, but shall not be received to Christian communion before he be cleansed, unless he be in danger of dying, viii. 32. In a prayer for all mankind, there is a petition for the Dæmoniacs — ὡς τῶ χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τῶ ἀλλοτρίῳ — ὅπως καθαρῶς ἐκ τῆ ἐνεργείας τῶ πονηρῶ — *pro iis qui ab Adversario jactantur --- ut eos mundes a vexatione Mali.* viii. 12. Ἐάν τις δαίμονα ἔχη,
κληρικὸς

κληρικὸς μὴ γινέσθω, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πῖς πιστοῖς
 ζωοῦχέσθω. καθαροῦς ᾖ, προσδεχέσθω, καὶ
 εἰν ἢ ἄξιον, γινέσθω. *Si quis Dæmonem*
habeat, ne fiat Clericus, sed nec una cum fi-
delibus oret: cum autem purgatus fuerit, re-
cipiatur, et, si dignus extiterit, Clericus
fiat. Canon LXX.

Is it not probable that the ancient Christians accounted mad, and melancholy, and epileptic people to be possessed, at least, for the most part? which would greatly increase the number of Dæmoni-
 acs. The Jews seem to have received some additional notions concerning evil Spirits and their operations, from the Chaldæans, and, after their return from the captivity, to have ascribed many diseases and disorders to these invisible agents, besides those which were not to be accounted for by natural causes; and in this the ancient Christians followed them.

Lightfoot says, *Judæis usitatissimum erat morbos quosdam graviores, eos præsertim, quibus distortum erat corpus, vel mens turbata et agitata phrenesi, malis spiritibus*

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attribuere. Hor. Hebr. Hence those swarms of Energumens and Exorcists mentioned in Ecclesiastical History.

The Constitutions perhaps command, but most certainly permit infant-baptism. Βαπτίζετε ὃ ὑμῶν ἐ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Θεῶ. *but baptize even (or also) your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God;* which shews that infant-baptism was practised when this book was written.

There is no eluding this testimony; it signifies nothing to say that *νήπιον* is a word which may be extended beyond infancy, to thirteen or fifteen years; for first, Christian education and instruction is mentioned as subsequent to baptism; secondly, in general precepts the obvious and usual signification of the words is to be supposed the intention of the lawgiver; thirdly, it is plain to the last degree that the word *νήπιον*, or *νήπιον*, will not exclude infants of a day old,

Ut contra si quis sentiat, nihil sentiat; fourthly, the sentence is partly borrowed
from

from *Ephes.* vi. 4. — *μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ κυθείᾳ Κυρίου*, but instead of τέκνα, νήπια is used, as denoting a more tender age. In the Prayer for the Faithful, a petition is offered up for Christian Infants. — *τῶ νηπίων ἐκκλησίας μνημονώσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος, τελειώσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγάγῃ.* *Infantium Ecclesiæ recodemur, uti Dominus eos in timore sui reddat perfectos, et ad mensuram ætatis perducatur.* viii. 10. *τὰ νήπια ἀδρυνον. infantes ad maturam ætatem perduc.* viii. 15. Will any man be so unreasonable as to contend that νήπια here does not include *babes*, and that infants before they could walk and speak, were excluded from the benefit and intention of these prayers?

Thus infant-baptism may be proved by the Constitutions; but at the same time the silence of the Scriptures upon this subject, compared with the clear declarations of the Constitutions, shews that these were drawn up after the Apostolical age. vi. 15.

It is observable, however, that viii. 32. where directions are given who shall be

admitted to baptism, no mention is made of infants.

The Constitutions make the validity of baptism to depend upon a certain form of invocation, and they seem to make it depend also upon the piety of the priest, which is a hard case.

In the ceremonial of baptism, when the person is anointed, there is a form of prayer to be used; for, say they, εἰ μὴ εἰς ἑκάστων τῶν ἐπὶ κλήσεως γνήϊον ὡς τὸ Ὁσέβιος ἱερέως ποιῶν τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καθαρίνῃ ὁ βαπτίζομενος, ὡς Ἰσδαῖοι, καὶ ἀπορίθῃ μόνον τὸ ῥύπον τὸ ζώματι, καὶ τὸ ῥύπον τὸ ψυχῆς. *Nisi in unumquodque eorum talis quæpiam invocatio a pio sacerdote adhibeatur, qui baptizatur in aquam tantum descendit, ut Judæi, et corporis tantum sordes, non autem animæ deponit.* Where Cotelerius says; *Loquitur de baptismo ordinario adultorum, quod nisi sedulo ac rite juxta totam cærimoniam tradatur a pio sacerdote, et suscipiatur a pio catechumeno, animæ sordes non depellit, nec suum obtinet effectum.*

In the middle of the third century, great disputes arose concerning rebaptizing those, who had been baptized by Heretics. The Constitutions and Canons determine that the baptism administered by Heretics is invalid and null, vi. 15. which was the doctrine of Cyprian. In this controversy, no appeal was made to the Constitutions. vii. 44.

The Constitutions represent adultery as a crime which was punished with death, Εἴ τις ἀδελφὸν λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ἀπαληθεὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Πονηρῷ κακωποιήσῃ, ἢ ἐλεγχθεὶς κατακτεθῇ θανάτῳ ὡς μοιχὸς, ἢ φονεὺς, χωρίζεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ — *Si quis se fratrem esse dicens, Diaboli fraude maleficium commiserit, convictusque ad mortem damnatus fuerit, tanquam adulter, aut homicida, digredimini ab illo.* v. 2.

Constantine made a law to punish adultery with death; and before his time it had not been a capital crime, in that sense, in the Roman Empire. The *Lex Julia de Adulteriis coercendis* is discussed

in *Digest*. L. xlviii. *Tit.* 5. but we are not clearly informed there what was the punishment. It seems to have been *relegatio*, a kind of banishment. See Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 50, and the Notes of *Vertranius*, and *Lipsius*; *Ann.* iv. 42, and the *Excursus* of *Lipsius*, and *Novell.* cxxxiv. 10, and a Treatise of *Gerard Noodt*, called, *Diocletianus et Maximianus, sive de transactione et pactione criminum.*

In some cases however, the father and the husband had a right to kill the guilty person, surpris'd in the crime.

I mention not this as an unanswerable objection to the Constitutions, since death might have been the punishment of adultery in some places long before the law of Constantine, and since the adulterous Christian might be no Roman citizen.

The best parts of the Constitutions are some of the prayers, taken probably from old Liturgies.

The Hellenistic language, as it is called, has been mentioned as a confirmation
of

of the Constitutions. Now this Hellenistic style is nothing more than the style of one who translates a Hebrew book verbally into Greek, or who thinks in Hebrew and writes in Greek. Suppose any person at any time, whose native language is Greek, who is a Christian, who reads few or no profane authors, who never studied his own tongue, who has frequently perused the Septuagint and the New Testament, and has them almost by heart, who writes upon a religious subject, who is perpetually citing the Scriptures; this person will write in the Hellenistic manner, more or less, and will have Hebrew idioms, even though he should not understand one word of the language, especially if he has a mind to affect that style, which is very easily imitated.

My friend Mr. Wasse, if I remember right, used to say that the style of the Constitutions was Hellenistic. Be this as it will, there are in them abundance of words and phrases never used by the
writers

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writers of the New Testament, though they afterwards appear in Ecclesiastical authors, and some which are not at all in the old Christian style, as for example, ὁ θᾶⓈ Μασῆς, which seems polite and Pagan, rather than Apostolical. vi. 25. The Scribler who is called *Dionysius the Areopagite*, has the same expression, θεόφιλος ὁ θᾶⓈ Ἰγνάτιος. *De Div. Nomin.* And so the *Clementina Epitome*, ὁ θᾶⓈ Κλήμης. § 157. Ὁ θᾶⓈ Ἀπόστολος, says Clemens Alex. speaking of St. Paul, I. p. 287, 602. but he is a learned writer, and borrows a thousand phrases from Pagans.

The Constitutions say that the Jews crucified malefactors, ii. 48. which is not true. See Le Clerc's Hammond on *John* xviii. 31. and Grotius on *Galat.* iii. 13.

They say that Herod ordered Christ to be crucified, which is a mistake. v. 19.

They

They say that Moses forbade the Jews to read the Law out of the borders of their own country, which prohibition is not to be found. vi. 25.

They order widows to stay at home, to be grave, *etc.* and then they censure those who ramble about, and are busy bodies, and idle talkers, and call them *μη χήρας ἀλλὰ πῆρας*, not widows, but beggars wallets, *ἐπίμυς εἰς τὸ λαμβάνειν*, ever ready to receive. But the beauty of the original is lost in the translation, because the words are nearly alike in sound, and different in sense: so that the jingle cannot be preserved. It is as if we should say in English; such widows behave themselves not *godly* but *odly*. iii. 6.

They say that a rich covetous man is like a dragon guarding a treasure, which emblem is borrowed from those profane authors whom they forbid Christians to read. iv. 4.

*Vulpis cubile fodiens, dum terram eruit, ---
Pervenit ad draconis speluncam ultimam,
Custodiebat*

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Custodiebat qui thesauros abditos.

Phædrus iv. 19.

*Largiris nihil, incubasque gazæ,
Ut magnus draco, quem canunt poëtæ
Custodem Sythici fuisse luci.*

Martial. xii. 53.

They teach the resurrection of the same numerical body, a doctrine concerning which the Scriptures are certainly silent, v. 7.

They are Heretics, say they, who make the Father, Son, and holy Spirit to be one and the same person, and Jesus to be τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεόν. This is supposed to be levelled against Simon Magus, but it is much more probable that it is against the Sabellians. vi. 26.

Having ordered Christians to honour the martyrs, they caution them not to honour false martyrs. If by ψευδομάρτυρες they only meant persons who perjured themselves and bare false witness, as their citations may seem to imply, the caution was extremely ridiculous: but it is more probable

bable that they meant either schismatics, or unfortunate men, mistaken in some points of faith, whom they would not allow to be martyrs, though they died for the name of Christ, and though they might have lived, if they would have renounced him; such, for example, as the Novatians. v. 9.

They make St. John say, *I got up, ἀναστὰς ἐγὼ, and leaning upon Christ's breast I asked him, etc.* As they reclined on couches before the table, St. John was seated the next below his Master, so that the back of his head was against the breast of Christ. He had therefore no occasion to get up, but only to raise himself and turn his head a little when he spake to Christ. v. 14.

They make St. John affirm that *Ὁὐ εἶπας, thou hast said*, is not the same as *yes*. v. 14.

They take much from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, for it is improbable that Barnabas should plunder them, and never own

own or hint the obligation. Now Barnabas wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem.

They say at the end of a prayer---
Gather us into thy Kingdom. Αὕτη μαρτυραθῶ.
 i. e. *Hæc venit Dominus*, which is little
 to the purpose: consult the Notes there.
 In the same prayer they say, ὁ διωαλὸς Θεός,
 ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἀψευδὴς ἐν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ·
 which looks as if it were taken from
 Polycarp's prayer — ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινός
 Θεός. p. 201, *Ed. Cler.* vii. 26.

The Invocation after the Communion
 begins thus, Δέσποτα ὁ Θεός — ὁ καὶ τῶν
 πᾶντων ὁπιστάμενος τὰς ἐνδέξεις — *Domine*
Deus --- *cognitor precum etiam eorum qui*
tacent. The expression is elegant and
 noble, but it seems to be taken from an
 old *Delphic Oracle*, in Herodotus, i. 47.

Καὶ κωφῶς ζῶντες, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντες ἀκούω.

Mutum percipio, fantis nihil audio vocem.

viii. 15.

They

They insert in a prayer, *The holy Angels say to thee*, εἰς ἁγίους τῶ Φελμονεΐ. It is taken from *Daniel* viii. 13. Καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνὸς ἁγίου λαλῶντος. Ἐ εἶπεν εἰς ἁγίους τῶ Φελμωνὶ τῶ λαλῶντος ἕως πότε, etc.

As it is introduced in the Constitutions, it is neither better nor worse than gibberish, and he who put it in did not understand it. vii. 35.

They say that the *Golden Calf* was the Ægyptian *Apis*, and so says the Author of the *Recognitions*, i. 35. which, if true, was yet more than they could certainly know, unless we should grant them to have had it by inspiration. i. 6. vi. 20.

They relate Peter's combat with Simon, in which he shot the Magician flying, and brought him down to the ground. The false *Hegesippus*, and one *Abdias*, in his *Historia Apostolica*, confirm it likewise. So we have no less than three witnesses for it; but they are,

Sardi venales, alius alio nequior.

The

The first author, fit to be named, who speaks of it, is Arnobius, and he comes too late. Cotelierius in his notes on the Constitutions, very honestly declares himself to be a doubter, and gives the reader leave to reject the story: but Tillemont is not so indulgent, and comes upon us with a formidable list of vouchers: *Quand il seroit vray que cette histoire seroit une fiction, nous aimerions mieux, tant qu'on n'aura point de preuve claire et convaincante de sa fausseté, nous tromper en ce point avec Arnobe, S. Cyrille de Jerusalem, les legats du Pape Libere, S. Ambroise, S. Augustin, S. Isidore de Peluse, S. Theodoret, et plusieurs autres, que d'estre obligez d'accuser d'une credulité indiscrete un grand nombre des plus illustres maitres de l'Eglise Latine et Greque.* Hist. Eccl. i. p. 178.

He who will believe all that he finds related by the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, should be provided with a double portion of credulity, and have the stomach of an ostrich to digest fables. But, the Fathers here mentioned
were

were not the inventors of this *combat*, they stand clear of such a charge, and are only to be blamed for paying too much regard to traditionary reports, or to some fabulous author. One would think that the silence of the Fathers before Arnobius were alone a sufficient reason to reject this story, and particularly the silence of Eusebius, who wrote after Arnobius; and their silence shews at the same time that they knew nothing, or believed nothing of the Constitutions.

Let it be observed, to the honour of Eusebius, that of all the ancient Ecclesiastical Historians, he has obtruded the least trash upon his readers, and that he has also shut out from the Scriptures of the New Testament all spurious, dubious, and Apocryphal authors, all Apostles falsely so called, whom he served as Jupiter did Vulcan,

Ῥίψε, ^α ποδὸς τετραγών, ἀπὸ βηλῆς δευσεΐοιο.

ii. 14. vi. 9.

^α *Hurl'd headlong tumbling from th'etherial sky.*

S

The

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The Constitutions call the name of Christ, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν — from Isaiah lxii. 2. which yet looks also like an allusion to Revel. ii. 17. ὄνομα καινόν. iii. 12. — τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν. and they say that the Church of Christ is νύμφη κεκαλλωπισμένη Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, perhaps from Revel. xxi. 2. ἡπιμασμένην ὡς νύμφην κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. And yet the seventy-sixth *Apostolical Canon* mentions not the Revelation amongst the books of the New Testament. ii. 15. 25. The same Canon ascribes to St. Paul the Epistle to the Hebrews.

They say that *tithe*s are due to the Clergy, because ἰῶτα, which stands for ten, is the first letter of the name of Jesus. Many of the Clergy would be in a poor condition, if they had no better claim to to them. ii. 25.

They give an interpretation of the proper name *Israel*, concerning which see the notes. vii. 36.

They abound with citations of the Scriptures, and are remarkable for an exuberant

uberant profusion of words, and a most tiresome repetition of the same things, which shews that in all probability they are not one man's invention, but a medley.

They not only heap passages of Scripture one upon another, but where the thing might have been alluded to in three words, they transcribe whole pages : --- *aliter non fit liber.*

After having censured all the other Jewish sects, they give the Essenes a good character, οἱ δὲ τέτων πάντων ἐαυτοὺς χωρίσασαντες, καὶ τὰ πάτρια φυλάσσοντες, εἰσὶν Ἑσᾶῖοι. *Qui vero ab iis omnibus separarunt se, ac patrios ritus servant, Essæi sunt. vi. 6.*

When the Jews were returned from Babylon, and before the coming of Christ, three sects arose amongst them, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes, of which, though none were good, the Sadducees were the worst, the Pharisees the best, and the Essenes superstitious fanatics.

The Sadducees were of opinion that they neither wanted nor received any di-

vine assistance for the performance of their duty, that the rewards and the punishments which God had denounced, were only temporal; that there were neither Angels, nor spirits, nor resurrection, nor future state, but that the whole man perished at death. It has been supposed, but not sufficiently proved, that they rejected not only the traditions of the Elders, but the writings of the [†] Prophets, and all the sacred Books, except the Law: so thought Jerom, and many of the Fathers.

Our Saviour proved a future state to the Sadducees from a Text in the books of Moses, where God is called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after they were dead. Hence it has been inferred, that the Sadducees rejected the Prophets; else, say they, Christ would have appealed to the prophets, who teach this do-

[†] When Josephus says that the Sadducees observed nothing besides *the laws*, he seems to oppose the *written laws* to the *traditions* only, not to the *prophets*. See *Antiq.* XIII. x. 6. XVIII. i. 4. *Edit. Haverc.*

ctrine more fully. But why so? From the words of Moses cited by our Saviour the doctrine of a future state may as clearly be deduced, as from any one single text which can be produced out of any one of the Prophets. The Sadducees might pay a greater regard to Moses than to the other Prophets, and yet not reject them neither. Besides, as the Sadducees, in their discourse with Christ, raised an objection to another state from a passage in Moses, Christ chose to answer them from the same author. *Hoc fundamento usi sunt Sadducei, Nullum articulum fidei admittendum esse, qui non ex libris Mosaicis probari posset. Reliquos autem Scripturæ libros ipsi legebant, et ita interpretabantur, ut fundamento suo contradicere non viderentur.* Pearson *Vindic. Ignat.* c, vii. Basnage is of the same opinion, *Hist. des Juifs*, ii. 6. *Tota religio consistit in libris Moysi: in cæteris nullum fidei seu Legis dogma statuitur*, says Orobius, who yet was no Sadducee, but rather, like most of his brethren, a follower of the Pharisees.

The greatest Sect of the Jews was that of the Pharisees, and in many respects it seems to have been the best also. The *Constitutions* charge them with Fatalism, and so doth Epiphanius, and some other Ancients, a charge which perhaps they could not have made good. They ought rather to have ascribed this notion to the Essenes; for the Essenes were strict Predestinarians, but the Pharisees, like the Semi-Pelagians, thought that divine assistance and human liberty cooperated and were reconcileable. So says^s Josephus, who was better acquainted with them than the obscure Author of the *Constitutions*. The principal fault, in point of doctrine, belonging to the Pharisees was a zeal for the traditions of the Elders; and though this unwritten Law was, as we may well suppose, a heap of lies, nonsense, and superstition, they paid more regard to it, than to the word of God.

But if we consider the ignorance and corruption which then prevailed amongst

* B. J. II. viii. 14. *Antiq.* XIII. v. 9. XVIII. i. 3. The Pharisees, says Prideaux, held a free-will in conjunction with predestination.

the Jews, we must acknowledge that the Pharisees and their disciples were by no means the worst part of the nation.

St. Paul bears them this testimony : *According to the straitest (the exactest) sect of our religion, says he, I lived a Pharisee.*

Our Saviour declares concerning them :
† *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat : all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe and do, that observe and do ; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not.*

In many places of Scripture, where it is said, Do this, but do not that, or, This shall be, but that shall not be, the words are to be understood, not absolutely, but comparatively : so that the meaning here may be ; Of the two, it is better and safer to do what the^u Scribes and Pharisees teach, than what they do ; for their

† Matt. xxiii. 2.

‡ The Scribes and Pharisees : that is, says a learned Friend of mine, the *Scribes*, who were so by their profession, and were *Pharisees* by their sect. The *Pharisees*, as *Pharisees*, did not sit in the seat of Moses : the *Scribes* did, whether Pharisees or not.

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but the ^w Sadducees were a sect which declined and came to nothing, or to very little, after the destruction of Jerusalem. Most of the Sadducees who escaped that calamity, probably became apostates and Pagans, a change for which they were too well prepared; and most of the Jews at this time are of the sect of the Pharisees.

The bad character, which is given in the Scriptures of the Pharisees, ought not to be extended to all who were of that party. It is enough if the majority of them, if the most eminent in authority were very wicked. There were without question several among them, mistaken in many things, and carried into faults by the prevailing notions of the sect, yet men of sincerity, and of virtuous dispositions.

Notre Seigneur a témoigné plus de mépris contre les Pharisiens, que contre les Sadducéens. C'est aux Pharisiens, qu'il en veut en tout et par tout, c'est contre eux qu'il

^w Justin indeed mentions the Sadducees in his *Dial. with Trypho.* See Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, ii. 7.

lance

lance ses plus séveres censures, c'est eux qu'il tâche de décrier. Pourquoi cela? C'est qu'encore qu'ils fussent plus orthodoxes, ils avoient le cœur plus gâté d'hypocrisie et d'orgueil, ce qui les rendoit plus incapables de se convertir à l'Evangile. Bayle Pensées diverses § 186. I think the reasons which I have assigned are more probable than these.

As to the Essenes, who are said in the Constitutions to have adhered to the religious rites and customs of their ancestors, and who are never mentioned by the sacred writers, it is well known that they neglected some ceremonial laws, and that they observed many foolish austerities, many fantastical and superstitious institutions of their own. Thus, for example, they accounted it a heinous crime to ease nature on the Sabbath-day, as Josephus testifies, who should also have informed us what they did in cases of urgent necessity, which will sometimes happen. As the Sabbatic River, mentioned by Josephus, B. J. vii. 5. was dry for six days, and flowed plentifully

tifully on the seventh, so, on the contrary, the Essenes were open for six days, and shut on the seventh. But some of the Learned think that this marvellous and most religious River flowed at other times, and rested on the Sabbath, and that there is a fault in the text of Josephus: see the notes there. If so, the parallel is better between the *Fluvius Sabbaticus*, and the *Podex Sabbaticus*.

The Essenes, says Josephus, on the Sabbath-day ἔδὲ κενῶς τι μελακινῆσαι θαρρῶσι, ἔδὲ διαπαλεῖν. *neque vas ullum loco movere audent, nec alvum exonerare.* B. J. ii. 8.

Porphry says of them, Τοσάωτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀλιότης ἢ περὶ τὴν διαίταν, καὶ ἡ ἐλιγότης, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἐσδομάδι μὴ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως, ἣν τηρεῖν εἰώθεσιν εἰς ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν. *Et quidem tanta ipsorum est in victu frugalitas, atque parcimonia, ut ne septimana quidem integra egerendi sit ulla necessitas: quam sibi abstinentiæ legem dixere, partim ut ad hymnos Deo concinendos aptiores sint, partim ut faciliori utantur somno.* Apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 3.

Vigerus,

Vigerus, the translator, though he was a learned man, fell into an absence of mind, which will sometimes happen to us all, and did not perceive that ἐβδομὰς here means, not *a week*, but the *Sabbath-day*, by which mistake he was led from one error into another to the end of the sentence, and made the Essenes wonderful people indeed, and like Milton's Angels, who void what they eat by insensible perspiration. The sense is; *The Essenes used so plain and spare a diet, that they had no occasion to disburden on the Sabbath, a day which they kept as a day of rest, and which they spent in singing religious hymns.*

The Essenes and Pharisees agreed in one respect very well, in being superstitious observers of trifles, and the Author of the *Constitutions* seems to have had some portion of the same Spirit. *La nation Ju-
daïque a été livrée a un tel esprit de pueriles,
et de chimeriques observances, que leurs plus
graves Docteurs ont étendu le Rituel jusques
aux actions les plus machinales, comme est
celle d'aller au privé. Malheur à qui ne
sait*

ſçait pas bien s'orienter ; car les quatre points cardinaux de l'horifon ne ſont pas également favorables. Je ne puis dire qu'en Latin le reſte de leurs ridicules ſuperſtitions. Dixit R. Akiba, ingreſſus ſum aliquando poſt Rabbi Joſuam in ſedis ſecretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici. Didici 1, quod non verſus orientem et occidentem, ſed verſus ſeptentrionem et auſtrum convertere nos debeamus. Didici 2, quod non in pedes erectum, ſed jam confidentem, ſe retegere liceat. Didici 3, quod podex non dextra ſed ſiniſtra manu abſtergendus ſit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Haſas ; Uſque adeo vere perfricuiſti frontem erga magiſtrum tuum ut cacantem obſervares ? Reſpondit ille, Legis hæc arcana ſunt ad quæ diſcenda id neceſſario mihi agendum fuit. Ex Barajetha, etc. Voila un merveilleux Docteur, qui, même ſur ſa chaiſe percée, expliquoit ſans dire mot les myſteres de la Loi. Bayle, Dict. AKIBA.

Hammond, in his notes on 1 Cor. v. 5. ſpeaking of the diſeaſes and torments, which in the Apoſtolic times ſeized thoſe
 persons

persons who were excommunicated, and delivered up to Satan, says, *Josephus simile quidpiam inter Essenos fuisse dicit, his verbis, etc.* Upon which Le Clerc remarks; *Quod Josephus de Essenis refert id potest ita intelligi, ut excommunicatus ex mœrore interiisse dicatur, non miraculosa vi excommunicationis; quod tamen si credidisset Josephus, non esset nefas ei fidem abrogare.*

It happens well for Josephus, that he has not affirmed so foolish a thing. He only says, Τὰς δὲ ἐπ' ἀξιοχρεοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν αἰλόνης ἐκβάλλουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐκκρεθεὶς, οἰκίστω πολλοῖς μόρῳ διαφθείρεται. πῶς οὐκοῦν καὶ πῶς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένον, εὐδὲ τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς διύαται μελαμβάνειν, πομφαγῶν δὲ καὶ λιμῶ τὸ σῶμα τηκόμενον διαφθείρεται. διὸ δὴ πολλὰς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν τῇ ἐχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς ἀνέλαβον, ἱκανὴν δὲ πῶς ἀμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν τὸ μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον ἡγάγησαν. *Deprehensos vero in peccatis gravioribus ex ordine suo ejiciunt;isque cui contigit e cœtu ejici, non raro mortem obit miserrimam. Nam juramentis et ritibus obligatus ne ali-*

erum quidem escis uti potest ; sed dum herbas comedit, corpus fame tabescit, atque ita interit. Quam ob rem etiam ipsi plurimos miserati, extremum jam agentes spiritum receperunt ; pro peccatis satis pœnarum, quod ad mortem usque fuerint cruciati, dedisse existimantes. B. J. II. viii. 8.

We see here that the excommunicated Essenes died, neither of any miraculous distemper, nor yet of grief, but were starved to death, because they dared not to eat with other people, being bound by the oaths which they had taken, oaths which were superstitious, stupid, and unlawful.

One branch of the Essenes had a most uncharitable opinion of the female sex, and thought that a woman could scarcely be found, who was faithful to her husband ; and therefore they would not marry. How could they observe the Commandment which says, *Honour thy father and thy mother*, who entertained such hard sentiments of their mothers?

It is a conjecture of Van Dale, which, whether it be true or not, is ingenious

and plausible, that Sadduceism owed its birth to the traditionary doctrines of the Jews. These traditions were so excessively impertinent, such quintessential, treble-refined folly, and yet so dogmatically enforced by haughty Pharisees and prating Doctors, as Importances, that some of the nation who could not endure to be treated at this overbearing rate, rebelled, and became Free-thinkers, and flew out as far into the opposite extreme, and rejected the soul's immortality, as a doctrine not clearly delivered in the Scriptures, supported by Tradition, and proceeding from that muddy fountain of everlasting nonsense. Miserable spirit of contradiction! Because a man would deprive me of common sense, I must, in resentment, throw away my religion! This is fulfilling in a very bad way the precept, *If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.*

The Constitutions forbid Christians to wear a gold ring, and to shave their beards, which must have disgusted

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the Roman knights, and the Roman barbers. The true reason of the latter prohibition is this; It is said in *Leviticus* xix. 27. *Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.* It is a wonder that they did not command Christians to keep the back door shut on Sundays, according to the laudable custom of the Essenes.

The Constitutions, from the beginning to the end, turn Christianity into a mere Ceremonial Law. i. 3.

They prove the resurrection by the pretty amusing story of the ^{*}*phœnix*; though indeed they warrant not the truth of it, but introduce the phoenix with an *ὡς αὐτοί φασι*, and they cite the *Sibylline Oracles* as prophecies, and ten verses from them, which clearly foretel the resurrection of the dead, the conflagration of the world, and the judgment at the last day,

* And yet even honest Herodotus, who was inclined enough to give into the marvellous, rejected the story of the Phoenix: — *ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔπιστά λεγόντες.* etc. ii. 73.

and

and which are manifestly the manufacture of a Christian :

Ἄλλ' ὅπότ' ἤδη πάντα τέφρα (ποδοέουσα γῆ),
 Καὶ πῦρ κοιμίση Θεὸς ἄφθιτος, ὅπερ ἀνῆψεν,
 Ὅσα καὶ (ποδῶν) αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἔμπαλιν ἄνδρα
 Μορφώση, γήση ἢ βροτὸς πάλιν ὡς πᾶρ (τοῦ) ἦσαν,
 Καὶ τότε δὴ κρίσις ἔσται, ἐφ' ἣ δικασθεὶς Θεὸς αὐ-
 τῶν,

Κρίνων ἔμπαλι κόσμον ὅσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσεβείῃσιν
 Ἡμαρτῶν θνητοὶ, τὰς δ' αὖ πάλι γαῖα καλύψῃ.
 Ὅσοι δ' εὐσεβέεσσι, πάλιν ζήσονται ἐν κόσμῳ,
 Πνεῦμα Θεῶν δόνητος, ζωὴ δ' αἶμα καὶ χάρις
 αὐτοῖς
 Εὐσεβέσιν· πάντες τέ τότε εἰσούσονται ἐαυτοῖς.

*Omnia sed postquam in cineres collapsa jam
 æternūque Deus succensum extinxerit ignem,
 Inque hominem Deus ipse iterum formaverit
 Et cineres, mortalibus, ut fuerant, renovatis :
 Judicium tunc certo erit, in quo jus feret
 æquum
 Ipse Deus, mundi iudex : ac qui impietate
 Peccarint, iterum injecta tellure tegentur :*

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*Contra iterum in mundo vivent pietatis
amici,*

*Sanctis dante Deo vitam, flatum, atque fa-
vorem.*

Se tunc agnoscent omnes, seseque videbunt.

Κεῖνων κόσμον — is Ecclesiastical Greek. v.
7.

It is remarkable that the Author of the Constitutions, who thus cites the Sibyl, as a prophetess of good authority, at least as one fit to convince the Pagans, yet treats her with contempt (according to some copies) and calls her, not Σελύλλα, but Ἀδύλλα, or *crazy fool*, which reading Cotelierius has admitted into the text. If the *old Woman* had been alive, she might have replied to *Pseudo-Clemens*,

*Parcius ista, Pater, tamen objicienda me-
mento.*

It would not be suitable to good manners to reproach a Lady for pronouncing or spelling a word wrong, and therefore I am almost afraid to observe that in the second line the Prophetess has made a false
quantity

quantity, for the *penultima* in κοιμίση is short. Perhaps the place was corrupted by the Librarian, with whom we make free, and call him a blunderer. He should have written κοιμήση, or κοιμίσση. In Homer *Odyss.* M. 372, some Editions give us

Ἦ με μάλ' εἰς ἅτλω κοιμίσσῃ νηλεῖ ὕπνῳ.

But there it has been changed into κοιμήσῃ.

Menander also *Fragm.* p. 2. has

Ἐκαστὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ ζωνηγανίσσῃ.

which Bentley changed into ζωνηγανίζεσθαι. Le Clerc endeavoured in vain to defend the common reading against him by the passage in Homer cited above. Le Clerc has committed some faults in his Edition of *Menander* and *Philemon*, because he had not sufficiently considered the laws of prosody: but they who made those laws their study, and reproached him for his ignorance of them, were not able to keep themselves free from such faults, as

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might easily be shewed. The small and trifling blemishes of this kind in Le Clerc are covered and amply compensated by other productions, for which he deserves, and will receive praise and honour:

The estate which Wits inherit after death.

It were easy to make many more objections to the Constitutions, but others have done it sufficiently, and perhaps it is not right to wage war with the dead:

Nullum cum victis certamen et æthere cassis.

THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS, though some of them may be ancient, and composed in the second and third centuries, are not Apostolical, in the strict sense of the word, and are interpolated in several places, as Beveridge himself confesses, who undertook their defence, and made the most he could of them. See his *Cod. Can. Vindic.* L. I. cap. x. 4.

^y See Turner's Discourse on the Constitutions.

Canon I. Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπων
χειροτονεῖται δύο ἢ τριῶν.

Quinque doctores et prophetas Antiochiæ congregatos esse traditur. Act. xiii. i. Barnabam, Symeonem Nigrum, Lucium, Manabem, et Saulum. --- Dicebat Spiritus sanctus, Ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον — et protinus subjungitur, τότε νηστύσαντες καὶ προσδεδάμνοι ἔστηθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν. E quinque igitur hic congregatis duo, Barnabas et Saulus, ordinati sunt: reliqui sunt ergo tres soli qui ordinarunt. Chrysostomus autem in locum ait, ὅρα πάλιν ὑπὸ τίνων χειροτονεῖται, ὑπὸ Λακεῖς καὶ Μαναῆ, ac si Symeon ordinationi non interesset. Sed intererat haud dubie; quod etiam exinde constat, quod non in duali sed plurali numero dicitur, νηστύσαντες, προσδεδάμνοι, ἔστηθέντες, adeo ut tres tunc temporis, non plures, nec pauciores, ordines conferebant. Beveridge,

To all these arguments I chuse to say nothing: I only make a small grammatical remark, that in Greek, a verb in the plural is frequently joined to two nomina-

tive cases singular, and a participle plural with two substantives singular, and that the Dual number is not once used in all the New Testament, which Beveridge had forgotten, or had not observed.

What sort of opinion Beveridge had, concerning the authority of these Canons, and whether he thought that Christians were obliged to observe them, is not very material to know: he seems to have entertained a great veneration for them. He says that by establishing the antiquity of the Canons, *hoc etiam boni commodique et nobis et aliis quibuscunque, se primitivorum Christianorum moribus conformes gerere cupientibus, emerget; quod præ oculis habeamus, qua ratione vitam nostram ad eorum exemplar instituiamus* --- p. 76.

The primitive Christians deserve to be honoured on many accounts, and imitated in many things, and the same ought to be said of this learned and pious Bishop, but, after all that can be said, the authors of these Canons were fallible men; and it would be better for a Christian to take
the

the precepts of Christ and the undoubted writings of the Apostles for the rule of his faith and practice, and to conform to primitive Christianity just as far as primitive Christianity is conformable to Scripture and to Reason, and not to ascribe a sacred and Apostolical authority to a set of unknown Canon and Constitution-makers.

Beveridge ascribes a kind of Apostolical authority to the L. Canon, which requires of the Bishops and Presbyters that they should make use of a threefold immersion in baptism, under pain of being deposed. *Aliquo tamen modo*, says he, *id ab Apostolis traditum negare non ausi sumus; utpote quod a sanctis Patribus nec semel assertum legimus.* The Testimony of the Fathers, in matters of tradition, is not always to be depended upon. But did our author himself use to conform to this canon?

The LXIX. Canon strictly requires the observation of the Quadragesimal Fast under spiritual pains and penalties: and this, together with other stated Fasts, Beveridge

idge takes to have been of Apostolical institution. It is not probable that the Apostles enjoined such things, as absolutely necessary; things of that kind are more properly subjects for counsels than for precepts. To be temperate, and to keep the passions and appetites in due subjection, is the duty of all men: abstinence from food is so far good as it is found to conduce to this end; but what suits one climate, and one constitution, and one age of life, suits not another.

The legislative spirit began to operate betimes, and when the Church made laws, relating to doctrines and opinions, which were not to be found in the New Testament, the *Codex* became very bulky, and there was no end of law-making: How should there?

Somebody once asked a Scholar, what was the meaning of ff, which stands for the *Digests* or *Pandects*, and was told that it meant *Farrago Farraginum*. The answerer was not in earnest: nor am I. but Tacitus says somewhere: *Corruptissimi*

ma' Republica plurimæ leges. And so much for this subject.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES were composed at different times, by different persons, first by Pagans, and then perhaps by Jews, and certainly by Christians. See the collections concerning them made by Fabricius *Bibl. Gr.* i. p. 167. an Author, whose memory all the learned world ought to bless, and to whom they should wish

*--- tenuem et sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum
ver.*

Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad Græcos* 38, mentions the Sibyl as clearly foretelling the coming and the actions of Christ. *His verbis*, says the last Editor, *Sibyllini, quales hodie extant, libri indicantur, in quibus tam aperta est rerum a Christo gerendarum prædictio, ut eam ex eventis fictam fuisse vix quisquam hodie non fateatur.* Præf. p. LXX. and in the Notes, *Nibil sane suspicatus est Justinus, quamvis omnes horam*

horum librorum pagine fraudem clamitent.

Thus the Benedictin, compelled by hard necessity, who would have defended both the Sibylline Oracles, and his friend Justin who cited them, if he had been able. It ought however to be observed that some persons, of at least as much learning and as much judgment as he, have suspected the genuineness of the *Cobortatio*.

The Sibylline Oracles seem to have been all, from first to last, and without any one exception, mere impostures.

We have a collection of them in eight books, which abound with phrases, words, facts, and passages taken from the LXX. and the New Testament, and are a remarkable specimen of astonishing impudence, and miserable poetry.

It was a pleasant conceit of Possevin, in his *Apparatus sacer*, that a choice ought to be made of passages from these Oracles, with proper notes, which might be used in schools. It would greatly perplex any
man

man of learning to make a choice where all is so bad; he would be like *Buridan's Ass* between two bundles of *musty* hay.

If. Vossius, the Patron of Sibylline Oracles, *forged*, as he pretended, by *divinely inspired* Jews, would yet have given them up as bad compositions, and void of all elegance. *Siquis*, says he, *Græcos qui supersunt Judæorum consulat versus, prorsus illos similes fuisse inveniet, ac fuere veterum Christianorum carmina, quæ, si unum et alterum excipias, istiusmodi sunt, ut Scaliger sibi in sterquilinio versari videretur, quotiescunque ad ea legenda se conferret.* De Sibyll. c. 9. This is true enough. Nor does he attempt to defend the present collection. *Quæ olim a Patribus Christianis lecta fuere, et etiamnum supersunt et leguntur oracula, longe a me abest ut omnia ea ejusdem generis et auctoritatis esse existimem, ac fuere ea de quibus hætenus sumus locuti. In his quippe quæ Christi nativitatem præcessere Sibyllinis, ea solum continebantur, quæ ex Prophetarum scriptis deprompta essent vaticinia.* At ve-

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ro in illis, quæ vulgo leguntur, ea quoque
occurrunt, quæ non ab aliis, quam ab iis,
potuerunt conscribi, qui centum et viginti
demum annis Christo fuere posteriores. And
he concludes that the old Oracles were
enlarged and interpolated by Christians.
c. 8.

Mention is made by various writers of
a Sibyl, who prophesied before the Tro-
jan war, and from whom Homer took
many lines, and particularly this prophe-
cy, Il. r. 307.

Νῦν δ' ὃν Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει,
καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τί κεν μέλομαι ἔργων.

Which Virgil thus imitates, and accom-
modates to his own plan:

*Hic domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

Others have said that Homer himself
was endued with a prophetic spirit when
he wrote those lines. Others have observ-
ed a great affinity of style between Ho-
mer and the Sibylline verses, and thence

have

have concluded that the poet was a² plagiarist. Strange! that men of letters could talk at this idle rate. Of all the ancient poets, Homer, who has a great simplicity, is perhaps the most easy to be imitated in point of bare diction and versification, and many persons are capable of closely copying him, or some other poet, as to style and numbers, who have no bright genius or invention, and are incapable of composing an elegant poem: but after all, the Sibylline Oracles are just as like Homer, as the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* are like Cicero's Epistles to Atticus.

Homer's prophecy is indeed remarkable, and might afford some observations not quite so childish as those above-mentioned. We may conjecture,

1. That the Poet went to Troy, i. e. to the region so called, and carefully surveyed the place, and the country about it;

2. Clemens Alexandrinus charges Homer with taking Verses from Orpheus and Musæus, instead of supposing that these were later writers, under false names, who pillaged Homer. *Strom.* vi. p. 738. 751.

and

and indeed in his *Ilias* he paints and describes^a, as one who knew every spot of ground ;

2. That the residue of the Trojans, after the departure of the Greeks, assembled together and settled in their own country, under Æneas ;

3. That when Homer came to Troy, a prince reigned there who was descended from Æneas, and might be his grandson ;

4. That this Prince treated Homer kindly, and gave him some memoirs and informations concerning the Trojan chiefs, and particularly concerning his own ancestor ;

5. That therefore Homer frequently celebrates Æneas, as the Son of a Goddess, a warrior of great bravery, and of an amiable character, and one much favoured and beloved by the Gods ; he al-

^a Ἐστὶ δέ τις προπάραιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κελόνη.

Il. B. 811.

so mentions some particularities concerning him, as that Priamus^b did not love and honour him according to his deserts ;

6. That Homer lived at least ninety years after the Trojan war.

The most ancient writer who speaks of the Sibyl is Heraclitus, about 500 years before Christ, after which she and her predictions are mentioned by Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, and who not.

The sum of the judgment which Fabricius, after a diligent examination, formed upon this subject, is as follows :

I. *Nothing is more uncertain than what is related of the number of the Sibyls, whether there was one or more.*

II. *Concerning the Sibyls, some think that they were inspired of God, others that they were possessed by evil Spirits, others that they were assisted by a strong imagination and enthusiasm, and a kind of natural*

^b — αἰεὶ γὰρ Πριάμῳ ἐπεμύνη δῖος,

Οὐνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸν εἰήλα μεί' ἀνδράσιν, ὅτι τέσκεν.

Il. N. 460.

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divination, to which must be added a fourth opinion, that these oracles were all fraud and human imposture, and that if any of them were ever fulfilled, it was by hazard.

III. *It seems an assertion too confident, to ascribe all the prophecies of the Sibyl and of other Pagans to knavery or chance, and it is more reasonable to suppose that sometimes there might be something præternatural in the case.*

IV. *In the time of Cicero there were some Sibylline Oracles which were Acrostichs, and which, as Cicero observes, were the labour of a plodding impostor, and not the prophecy of an inspired person.*

V. *The Romans had Sibylline Oracles in the time of their Kings, which were kept with great care in the Capitol, and consulted afterwards upon important occasions. They were burnt with the Capitol, A. U. C. 670. and the Romans got a new collection from various places.*

VI. *This second collection was burnt by Stilicko in the time of Honorius.*

VII. *Besides*

VII. *Besides these Collections, there were other Sibylline Oracles made and banded about from time to time.*

VIII. *In Virgil's fourth Eclogue;*

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas :

Carmen Cumæum probably means Hesiod's poem, as Probus thinks, and ultima ætas is the same as prima, and means the Saturnian times, and the golden age: Or, ultima ætas means the last, the iron age; and then venit is fuit, præteriit, is passed and gone. Virgil took nothing here from the Sibylline Oracles.

IX. *Our present collection contains not the books which were offered to Tarquin;*

X. *Nor the second set of Oracles which were brought to Rome;*

XI. *Nor those Oracles which were received by the Pagans.*

XII. *Nothing contained in it ought to be admitted as made before the birth of Christ, unless we can find as ancient vouchers for it.*

XIII. *There are in this collection some lines which the author took from old Pagan Oracles, from Homer, Orpheus, and other poets:*

XIV. *But much is taken from the Old and New Testament.*

XV. *It contains not all the Sibylline Oracles of which the Fathers made use, but it has the greater part of them.*

XVI. *These Oracles were forged in the first, second, and third centuries, not by Pagans, or Jews, but by Heretics or orthodox Christians; not by the Fathers, but by some unknown persons.*

XVII. *There was no law which made it a capital crime to read these Sibylline Oracles.*

Such is the sentiment of Fabricius, who would have granted that there is not extant one Sibylline Oracle, upon which we can depend as upon a prophecy fairly uttered before the event, and plainly accomplished. I see not why we should have a more favourable opinion of those which are lost.

The

The great difference of words and verses which appears even in the same passages of the Sibylline Oracles, as they are cited by different Fathers, shews that the Collections of these poems varied much, and that every Librarian thrust in what he thought proper, and what he had picked up here and there from any dung-hill.

Amongst the defenders of the Sibylline Oracles was Isaac Vossius, who wrote a book on that subject, a learned book, for he could write no other: but as to judgment, you must not seek it there. *Credimus*, says he, *omnes istos libros* (Apocryphos) *a Judæis fuisse compositos, DEO IMPELLENTE IPSORUM MENTES ad significandum gentibus Christi adventum. Infinita itaque illi edidere volumina partim sub Patriarcharum et Prophetarum suorum nominibus, quales fuere libri qui olim lecti fuere sub nominibus Adami, Enochi, Abrahami, Moysis, Eliæ, Esaïæ, et Jeremiæ, partim vero sub nominibus illorum, quorum magna apud gentiles*

gentiles esset existimatio, veluti Hystaspis, Mercurii Trismegisti, Zoroastris, Sibyllarum, Orphei, Phocylidæ, et complurium aliorum. De Sibyl. Or. c. 7. It must be owned to have been a generous proceeding in Vossius, to take the weaker side on several occasions, and to be an advocate for those who stood most in need of assistance, in which charitable behaviour he has been, and will be imitated; for this sort of *charity* also *never faileth*: but for inventing and maintaining paradoxes, he never had an equal, except Father Harduin.

Virgil's fourth Eclogue was written, as Bishop Chandler and Mr. Masson have observed, when Pollio was Consul, and the design of it was to compliment Augustus, or Cæsar Octavianus, as he was then called, and to foretel the birth of a son whom his wife Scribonia should bear, who was then with-child: but it proved a daughter, and the infamous Julia. See Chandler's *Def. of Christ.* and *Vindicat.* and at the end, a *Dissertation* of Masson.

Ultima

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.

Ultima means here *postrema*, and *prima*, the *fifth* and *last* in order, and the *first*, that is, the returning golden age.

--- *isque parentem*

Te, Saturne, refert; tu sanguinis ultimus auctor. Æn. vii. 48.

Venit means *is come*: it is contrary to the genius of the Latin tongue to interpret it *abiit*. Collins follows Fabricius in giving this latter sense to the verb: it is pity he did not follow him in many other points, where he would have found him a good guide. *Vēnit* in the present tense is, *it is coming*; *venit* in the præterperfect, *it is come*, unless when it stands for an aorist, for ἦλθε, and means, *it came*. *Fuit* indeed often denotes what was, and is not. *Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium*: for, to avoid saying that a man was dead, the Romans said *Fuit*, by an *euphemismus*.

Cumæum carmen, cannot be the poem of Hesiod, for Virgil calls him *Ascræum*

senem, and his poems *Ascræum carmen*. It must be, as Servius interprets it, *Car-men Sibyllinum*.

Hence we may suppose that in Virgil's time there were said to be Sibylline Oracles, which mentioned the return of the golden age, and a renovation of happy days: but whether these Oracles were forged by a Jew, or by a Pagan, or whether the substance of them were stolen from the holy Scriptures, or whether Virgil borrowed any of his ideas and expressions from these Oracles, is a matter of doubt and uncertainty. It cannot be denied that there is a great resemblance between Virgil's Eclogue and the sacred prophecies. See Bp. Chandler's *Def.* p. 10, *etc.*

Virgil's fourth Eclogue is a continued prophecy, and he must be supposed, for the sake of the *decorum*, to have acquired this foresight one way or other, else the poem would appear ridiculous. He gives no intimation that he was himself inspired, I speak of prophetic, not of poetic inspiration; and father Hesiod was no predictor

dictor of future events, so that from him he could not pretend to learn it. Whence then could he feign to have it, but from *old Oracles*, from the *Cumæum carmen*? If he had set up on this occasion for a prophet, he would have spoiled his compliment; it was better to represent himself as only an interpreter of ancient prophecies, which he adorned with the graces of Latin poesy: this gave the Eclogue an air of importance and authority.

He pronounces that the *Golden Age* should commence under Augustus, and at the birth of his son, and should be brought to perfection when the young hero should arrive to manhood, and when his father (as the Reader was left to suppose) was returned to heaven, and become one of the celestial Gods.

Virgil has touched upon the same subject in other places: let us compare them together.

He declares, *Georg.* i. 24. that Augustus, when he should leave the earth, would become

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become a God, one of the *Dii majorum gentium*.

*Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura
deorum*

Concilia, incertum est; etc.

And 503.

*Jampridem nobis cæli te regia, Cæsar,
Invidet.*

He intimates, § 500, that Augustus should restore peace and happiness, and that he was intended

--- *everſo ſuccurrere ſæclo.*

Again in the vi. *Æneis*, the *Sibyl*, the *Cumæan Virgin* and *propheteſs*, leads *Æneas* to *Elyſium*, where he learns that *Augustus* should arise and bring with him the *Golden Age*. 792.

*Hic vir, hic eſt, tibi quem promitti ſæpius
audis:*

*Augustus Cæſar, Divi genus: aurea condet
Sæcula qui rurfus Latio.*

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promitti, that is, *foretold* by the Gods and
their prophets.

And again, 799.

Hujus in adventum jam nunc et Caspia regna
Responsis horrent divûm ---

My inference from these things is that Virgil by *Cumæum Carmen* meant a Sibylline Oracle, but I say not that he took any thing thence, besides a renovation and a golden Age.

Virgil certainly paid no sincere regard to the Sibyl, and to her predictions. The Epicurean philosophy, in his days, had debauched the Wits and the polite world, and he, as well as his friend Horace, was infected with it: but Virgil saw plainly that the Atheistical System would make a poor figure in heroic poetry, and therefore has introduced it sparingly and obliquely. They who deny his Epicureism are persons with whom it would be a folly to dispute.

Not only the Sibylline Oracles are to be rejected, but there is reason to suspect
the

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the Orphic verses, and also some few of the Fragments of ancient Poets produced by the Fathers, to have been forged or interpolated by Jews or Christians. Such are the Orphic verses cited by Justin. *Cohort.* § 15, and by others;

Φθέγγομαι οἷς θεῖς ἐστὶ — etc.

Cudworth declared his doubts concerning them, *Intell. Syst.* p. 300. See also Le Clerc *Hist. Eccl.* p. 692. *Les Peres, au moins Clement Alexandrin, savoient bien que l'on avoit attribué plusieurs choses à Orphée, qui n'en étoient point, et l'on a sujet de douter qu'ils crussent bien assurément que le passage de l'unité de Dieu fût de lui. Ils ont pu le citer, contre ceux qui pouvoient croire qu'il en étoit effectivement, par un raisonnement, dont les Philosophes même se servent, faute de plus propres à persuader ceux, à qui ils ont à faire, et dont ils disent; valeat quantum poterit valere. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choif. xxvii. 438.*

In Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 12, these Orphic verses are to be found, as they were produced by Aristabulus.

An

An Oracle of Apollo cited by Justin, Cohort. § xi. and by Porphyry, in Eusebius Præp. Evang. ix. 10. says;

Μᾶνοι Χαλδαῖοι Σοφίᾳ λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
 Αὐτογέθλον ἀνακτα βεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνώσ.

*Chaldæo Hebræoque unis sapientia cessit,
 Qui casto æternūm venerantur Numen honore.*

Here the Pagans and Porphyry were the dupes, who took this for a sacred oracle. Justin and Eusebius seem to use it as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Justin reads
 Θεὸν αὐτὸν.

Some have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyry to be forged. See a Dissertation in Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xiii. 178. which well deserves to be perused. The author, whom I take to have been Le Clerc himself, acts the part of a Moderator between Fontenelle, or Van Dale, and their Antagonist, and upon the whole is most inclined to side with the former, though not in every thing. He blames the latter for using
figures

figures of rhetoric instead of *reasons*, treating Van Dale and Fontenelle as *Socinians*, setting the Mob at them, and such sort of *pauvretex*. But as great guns are the *Ratio ultima Regum*, so these are the *Ratio ultima Disputatorum*, and supply the want of ammunition: and yet it is not altogether fair and honourable war; it is shooting chewed bullets and glass bottles.

Cæterum, says Le Clerc, *notatu dignissimum est hoc Oraculum, quod neque a Judæo, neque a Christiano, neque etiam ab Ethnico e vulgo fingi potuit.* Oper. Phil. tom. ii. in Indice, HEBRÆI.

Yet it might be made by some fantastical Pagan, who entertained a favourable opinion of the Chaldæans and of the Jews; or rather by some Jew, who was not very scrupulous, and who might join the Chaldæans to the Jews, thinking it would remove the suspicion that the Oracle was framed by a Jew: he might also give this honour to the Chaldæans for the sake of his father Abraham, who was a Chaldæan. Or it might be the work of some
old

old Heretic, or of some foolish Christian. It seems to have been forged in the same shop where the Orphic verses before-mentioned were fabricated: No one knew God, says this Orpheus,

Εἰ μὴ μενοινῆς τις ἀπορρώξ φύλα ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων. —

Asť aliquis tantum Chaldæo a sanguine cretus.

By whom, says Clemens, he means Abraham, or his son, *Strom.* v. p. 723. Clemens observes that Orpheus borrowed his thoughts and expressions from the Scriptures, and so far he is certainly in the right.

An Oracle of Apollo in Lactantius *de Fals. Rel.* i. 7. says,

Οὐνομα μὴδὲ λόγῳ χαρέμενον, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,
Τὸ τὶ Θεός· μικρὰ γὰρ Θεῷ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

*Nomen ne verbo quidem capiendum, in igne
habitans,*

*Hoc Deus est: modica autem Dei portio An-
geli nos.*

Made by a Jew, or a Christian.

There

There are more of the same stamp in Lactantius, and also Sibylline Oracles bearing the most manifest marks of imposture.

Justin *Cohort.* § 16, and others after him, give us these Sibylline verses, which teach the unity of God, and condemn idolatry, and sacrifices, and exhort to the love of God, and are altogether in the language of the Scriptures, and carry their own confutation along with them:

Εἷς Θεὸς ὃς μόνος ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγρόητος,
Πάντοκρετόν, ἀόρατος, ὁράμενος αὐτὸς ἅ-
παντα·

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐβλέπετο θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

Unus Deus, qui solus est, ter maximus, in-
creatus;

Omnipotens, invisibilis, ipse videns omnia.

Ipsæ autem a nulla videtur carne mortali.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτιοι τεύχεος πεπλανημένοι ἦμεν,
Ἐρῶν δ' χειροποίητα γεραίρομεν ἄφρονι μύθῳ
(θύμῳ)

Εἶδωλα ξοάνων τε καὶ αἰσθημάτων τ' ἀνθρώπων.

Nos

*Nos autem ab immortalis viis aberraveramus,
Ac opera manu facta colebamus stulta mente
Simulacra et statuas^c pereuntium hominum.*

Ὅλβιοι ἄνθρωποι καὶνοι καὶ γαῖαν ἔσονται,
Ὅσοι δὴ σέβῃσι μέγαν Θεόν, Ὀλογέοντες
Περὶ φαγέειν πίεειν τε, πέποιθότες Ὀσεβήσιν.
Οἱ νηὲς μὲν ἅπαντας ἀπαρνήσονται ἰδόντες,
Καὶ βωμὸς, εἰκαῖα λίθων ἀφιδρύματα κωφῶν,
Αἵμασιν ἐμψύχων μεμιασμέναι καὶ θυσίαισι
Τετραπόδων, βλέψῃσι δ' ἐνὸς Θεοῦ ἐς μέγα κῦδος.

*Felices homines super terram erunt,
Quicumque diligent magnum Deum, bene-
dicentes*

*Antequam comedant et bibant, confidentes
pietate :*

*Qui omnia quidem templa abnegabunt videndo,
Et altaria, inanes lapidum sedes surdorum,
Cruoribus animalium contaminata et victimis
Quadrupedum ; et respicient ad unius Dei
magnum decus.*

In the fourth line, instead of *τέλεις*, one might read *ἀθανάτιοι τέλεις*, with *καὶ* under-

^c Rather *defunctorum*. But I leave the Latin Versions usually as I find them, though sometimes they want emendation.

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stood; which may be translated, *We have erred from the everlasting path*; but I rather think that ἀθανάτιο τρίτος means *the path of God*; ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου Ἀθανάτου.

Ἐγνώρισάς με ὁδὸς ζωῆς. Psalm. xv. 11.

Τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁδοῦ; Isai. lxiii.

17. Στήτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἴδετε, καὶ ἐρωτήσατε τὸν Κυρίον αἰωνίως· καὶ ἴδετε ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀγαθή. Jerem. vi. 16. And the

Prophetess says in another place,

— τρίτον ὁρθῶ

Εὐθείαν περιπλόνεις.

Justin in his *Dialogue* takes no notice of the Sibyl; in his *Apology* he mentions her as foretelling the conflagration at the last day, and saying many good things; and complains that it was forbidden to read her. The *Cobortatio* is thought to surpass his other works in elegance of diction; but that alone will hardly be a sufficient reason to pronounce it spurious, though it may justify a suspicion and an hesitation about it. The Benedictin Editor p. 604. says, *Cum scriberet Cobortationem ad Græ-*

cos Justinus, credebat Septuaginta illos Viros, dum pro se quisque separatim inclusi laborabant, magno miraculo in omnibus verbis et sententiis inter se consensisse. Sed hanc fabulam, nec in prima Apologia, ubi agit de Septuaginta Interpretibus, commemorat, nec in Dialogo illius credendæ onus imponit Judæis: in quo quidem non levis conjectura est eam Justinum aut missam fecisse, aut saltem suspectam habere cœpisse. Some will rather conjecture from this, that Justin was not the author of the *Cohortatio*; and I could name a friend, well known to the learned world, and a very good judge, who thinks that nothing of Justin is certainly genuine, besides the *Dialogue*, and the *Apologies*. The Benedictin endeavours to prove that the *Cohortatio* is to be ascribed to him, and contends with Casimire Oudin, who held the contrary opinion. *Præf.* p. lxxviii.

The Sibyl in the Proœm says,

Τίς ᾗ (ἀρχὴ δυνάει) τ' ἐπεράνιον ἢ ἀληθῆ,
Ὁφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν Θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς πόλον οἰκεῖ;
Ἀλλ' ἐδ' ἀκρίνων καλεναγίον ἡελίοιο

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Ἀνθρώποι εἶναι δυνάτοί, θνητοὶ γελαῶτες.

*Corporeis oculis etenim quis cernere verum
Æternumque Deum possit, cælumque colen-
tem?*

*Cum neque splendentis radiantia lumina solis
Sustineant homines mortales cernere contra.*

Socrates in Xenophon has the same sentiment, and says that the Deity is inconspicuous, and that a man cannot look upon the sun without being dazzled. *Memor. iv. 3.* Theophilus, Minucius Felix, Theodoret, and others have said the same thing. Clemens Alexandrinus fancied that Xenophon borrowed it from the Sibyl, *Cohort. p. 61.* and *Strom. v. 714.* But even admitting the antiquity of these verses, and supposing that they were written in Noah's Ark, it will not follow from the parity of thought, that Socrates or Xenophon had seen them, since all men, except those who are blind, know, without an instructor, that it is impossible to look upon the sun when he shines out in full strength. One thing is very plain, that the two first verses, and the word *καὶ*,
for

for mortal man, are taken from the Scriptures.

Justin Cohort. 18. has cited a very singular passage from Sophocles ;

Εἷς ἔσθ' ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν Θεός,
 Ὃς ἔρπον' τέτρωχε, καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,
 Πόντον τε χαρπὸν οἶδμα, κανέμων βίας.
 Θνητοὶ δ' πολλοὶ καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι,
 Ἰδρυσάμεθα πημάτων ὠδραψυχῶν 5
 Θεῶν ἀγάλμα' ἐκ λίθων τε καὶ ξύλων,
 Ἡ χρυσοδύκλων ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπας·
 Θυσίας τὲ τέπας καὶ καλὰς πανηγύρεις
 Τόχονες, ἔτως ὠσεθεῖν νομίζομεν.

Unus profecto est, unus est tantum Deus,
 Cæli solique machinam qui condidit,
 Vadumque ponti cærulū, et vim spiritus.

At ducta cæco errore gens mortalium

Commenta cladis in suæ solatium est

Formas Deorum saxeas aut æreas,

Aurove ductas fusili, aut eburneas.

His victimarum sanguinem, his festos dies,

Cum dedicamus, esse nos remur pios.

In the seventh verse, should it be,

Ἡ χρυσοῦς ἢ ἑλεφαντίνος τύπος.

Or — — ἢ ἑλεφαντίνος — ?

These verses are to be found in Clemens Alexandrinus and in other Fathers, and with some variety of readings. See Eusebius *P. Ev.* xiii. 13. p. 680. and the notes of Vigerus. *Though this be such,* says Cudworth, *as might well become a Christian, and be no where now to be found in those extant Tragedies of this Poet, many whereof have been lost, yet the sincerity thereof cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the ancient Fathers in their writings against the Pagans, as particularly Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Cyril, and Theodoret, of which number Clemens tells us, that it was attested likewise by that ancient Pagan Historiographer Hecataeus.* Intell. Syst. p. 363.

Hecataeus, whom Josephus commends, *Contr. Apion.* i. 22. is said to have lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and to have conversed much with the Jews, and

and he might have been a kind of proselyte, or half-Jew. Le Clerc suspects that this book of Hecataeus might have been forged by the Jews. *Bibl. Choix.* viii. 392. Athenagoras only cites the two first verses of this fragment: it is strange that he should not have produced the rest, if he ever saw it, which made so much for his purpose. Some may think it improbable that Sophocles should venture to attack the Gods and the religious ceremonies of his own country in so open a manner: but these verses are not, like those of the Sibyl, in the style of the Scriptures, and it is certain that in the Greek Comedies and Tragedies there are many bold strokes against the fabulous and popular religions; and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* v. p. 691, produces passages out of Euripides, Plato, and Zeno, which are very remote from the vulgar notions concerning the Gods. The Fathers have taken great pains to collect such testimonies, for which we are much obliged to them.

Justin, *Cohort.* 38. cites an Oracle, which seems to be a Jewish or a Christian trifle, in which it is said that God

— πρῶτον πλάσας μερίπων, Ἀδὰμ δε κα-
λέσας.

*Qui primum mortalem effinxit, Adamque
vocavit.*

Justin, in the book *de Monarchia*, if it be his, produces a passage from *Philemon*, which others ascribe to *Menander*, wherein are these lines :

Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα χεῖσιμον καθεστάναι,
Μὴ παρθένος φθείροντα, καὶ μοιχώμδρον,
Κλέπτονα, καὶ φάζοντα χρημάτων χάριν.
[Τὰλλότρια βλέποντα, καὶ πιθυμῆνα
Ἦτοι γυναικὸς, πολυελεῖς ἢ δώματι,
Ἦ κήσεως, παιδὸς τε, παιδίσκης δ' ἀπλῶς,
Ἰππων, βοῶν τὸ ζυῖον, ἢ κτηνῶν. τί δὴ ;]
Μηδὲ βελόνης ἐν ἅμμι' ἐπιθυμῆς, Πάμφιλε.

*Probum esse namque oportet omnino virum,
Non inferentem stupra nuptæ aut virgini,
Lucrive causa furta vel cædes ; neque*

[*Aliena*

[*Aliena spectantem ac deinde conjugis
Male appetentem, aut superbarum ædium
Aut prædiorum, vel puellæ, aut vernulæ,
Pecorisve taurûmve aut equûm. Quo hæc
pertinent ?*]

Acum vel unam haud concupiscas, Pamphile.

The verses which I have inclosed in brackets are not in Clemens Alexandrinus *Strom.* v. 720. nor in Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 13. nor in the collections of Grotius, or of Le Clerc. They are, I think, the handy-work of some Jew, or Christian, and a sorry imitation of the tenth commandment; and, it may be, an interpolation in Justin: Οὐκ ὀπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου οὐκ ὀπιθυμήσεις τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πλησίον σου, ἥδ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγρόν αὐτοῦ, ἥδ' ἐπὶ τὴν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, ἥδ' ἐπὶ τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ, ἥτε τῶ βοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἥτε τῶ ὄντινός αὐτοῦ, ἥτε τῶ ὑποζυγίου αὐτοῦ, ἥτε παντὸς κτηνίου αὐτοῦ, ἥτε ὅσα τῶ πλησίον σου ἐστίν. *Exod.* xx. 17.

Τ' ἀλλάττει βλέποντα, καὶ πιθυμῶντα

is not a verse, nor worth the mending.
One might read,

Τ' ἄλλο-

Τὰλλότεραι βλέποντ', ἢ ὀπιθυμέμενον —

He also cites some verses from *Æschylus*;

Χώρζε θνητῶν τ' Θεὸν, καὶ μὴ δόκη
Ὅμοιον ζαυτῷ ζάρκινον καθεσάναι. — etc.
Πάντα διῶα γάρ, δόξα δ' ὑψίστῃ Θεῷ.

*Deum amoveto longius mortalibus,
Nec tibi parem esse, carne amictum, finx-
eris. ---*

Namque omnia potest : laus Dei est altissimi.

This passage is also to be found with some various readings in *Clemens Strom.* v. 727.

The last line has an air of forgery ; it is unharmonious, and prosaic, and seems to be taken from the Scriptures. In the second line, instead of Ὅμοιον ζαυτῷ it should perhaps be Ὅμοια ζαυτῷ — for the second foot will not regularly admit a spondee.

Eusebius, unless my memory deceives me, has made no direct use of the Sibyl, whence it may be conjectured that he had
no

no great esteem for her. Dr. Middleton has charged him with approving and justifying a very silly Acrostich of the Erythræan Sibyl. *Eusebius has preserved an Acrostich.---He tells us however that many people rejected it --- but the truth, adds he, is manifest --- for it is agreed by all that Cicero had read this poem. --- Now the sole ground of this confident assertion is etc.* Inquiry, p. 36.

The Father of Ecclesiastical History deserves not this censure, and the Doctor has inadvertently ascribed to Eusebius sentiments contained in an Oration, published indeed by Eusebius, but composed by the Emperor Constantine. As to the Emperor's judgment, Defend it who will, for I will not : but why should Eusebius be responsible for the mistakes of Constantine? See *Constantini Orat.* apud Eusebium, p. 700. Edit. Cant. and Valesius there, and Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 32.

Eusebius cites the Sibyl, *Præp. Evang.* xiii. 13. but in the words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, whom he transcribes.

IX. 15. He produces a passage from her concerning the tower of Babel, but he took it, as he informs us, from Josephus *Ant.* i. 4. who says, Περὶ τῆς τῶν πύργου τέτης καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφρονίας τῆς ἀνθρώπων, μέμνηται καὶ Σύβυλλα λέγουσα ἕτως, Πάντων ὁμοφρόνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πύργον ᾠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον, ὡς ὅτι τὸ ἔργον ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκάστη φωνὴν ἔδωκαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Βαβυλῶνα ζωέειν κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. *De turri autem hac, deque linguis hominum mutatis meminit etiam Sibylla, ad hunc modum dicens: Cum universi homines uno eloquio uterentur, turrim ædificarunt quidam excelsissimam, quasi ad cælum per eam ascensuri. Dii vero procellis emissis turrim everterunt, et suam cuique linguam dederunt. Quæ causa fuit, ut urbs ea Babylonis nomen acciperet.*

The verses relating to this subject are preserved by Theophilus ad Autolycum ii. 31.

Ἀλλ' ὁπότεν μεγάλοιο θεῶν τελέων ἀπειλαί,
 Ἄς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτιδξαν
 Χώρη

Χώρα ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ. ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες,
 Καὶ βέλοιν' ἀναβῆν' εἰς ἔρχυν ἄστερόεντα·
 Αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μεγάλῳ ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκῳ
 Πνύμασιν αὐτὰρ ἔπει' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθεν
 πύργον

ῥίψαν, καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἔρην ὤρσαν.
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργος τ' ἔπεσεν, γλῶσσαι τ' ἀν-
 θρώπων

Εἰς πολλὰς θνητῶν ἐμερίσθησαν Διὰλέκτους,
 Γαῖα βροτῶν πληρῆς μερζομένων βασιλείων.

*Sed quando magni Dei perficiuntur minæ,
 Quas aliquando comminatus est mortalibus,
 quando turrim fabricarunt*

*In terra Assyria. Erant autem omnes unius
 linguae,*

Et voluerunt scandere cælum stelligerum.

*Statim autem Immortalis magnam imposuit
 necessitatem*

*Ventis. Venti autem magnam et altam
 turrim*

*Ubi dejecerunt, etiam inter mortales dis-
 cordiam excitarunt.*

*Rursus ubi turris cecidit, ac linguae homi-
 num*

Mortalium in multas divisæ sunt dialectos,

Terra

Terra mortalibus impleta fuit sub variis regibus.

In the last line perhaps for βασιλήων it should be βασιλειῶν, The earth was replenished with men, and divided into various kingdoms.

Hence it may be concluded that a Sibylline Oracle concerning the tower of Babel was extant in the days of Josephus, and hence Beveridge makes some inferences in favour of the Sibylline verses cited by the ancient Fathers, which are by no means conclusive and satisfactory. *Cod. Can. Illustr.* i. 14.

Was the Oracle mentioned by Josephus in prose or in verse? We cannot certainly tell, but it is most probable that it was in verse, and that Josephus gave us the sense and substance of it in prose. Had Josephus those verses before him which are preserved by Theophilus? Beveridge says he had, and so thinks Isaac Vossius; and it may be so. But then the verses seem to have undergone some alteration afterwards,

terwards, for the Sibyl in Josephus says that from the confusion of languages the place was called Babylon; the Sibyl in Theophilus says it not: the Sibyl in Josephus says that οἱ Θεοὶ, *the Gods*, overthrew the edifice; but in the verses it is Ἀθάνατος, *God*, which may seem better to agree with μεγάλαις θεῶν that went before.

One might conjecture that at first it was thus :

Αὐτίκα δ' ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙ μέγαλιν ΕΠΕΘΗ-
 ΚΑΝ ἀνάγκην
 Πνέμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν ὑψόθι
 πύργον
 ῥίψαν, καὶ θνητῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἔρην ὤρσαν.

By this change, Ἀθάνατι may be the nominative case to ὤρσαν, instead of ἄνεμοι, and it seems more reasonable that the *Gods* than the *winds* should set the men at variance. It is in a Pagan style, and yet a Jewish Forger might write it, and take the bold liberty to say Ἀθάνατι, meaning *God* and his *Angels*, or *the Angels*. Angels are sometimes called *Gods*, and in *Genesis* xi. 7. whence

whence this account is taken, *the Lord said, Let us go down, and there confound their language*, in which words, according to many of the Rabbins, God speaks to his Angels. Josephus himself now and then uses expressions bordering upon Paganism.

It is not safe to trust ones memory in things of this kind; but I think that profane authors, though they sometimes say 'Αθάνατι, for *the Gods*, and make it a substantive, yet never say 'Αθάνα[ς], simply, for *God*, or the *supreme God*. The Sibylline Oracles more than once use this word in this manner, and shew by it that they are not the work of a Pagan.

The supposition which some have made, that *Justin Martyr* was guilty of forging the Sibylline Oracles, is groundless and perverse. Justin has written his own character in every page of his works, and shews himself pious, warm, sprightly, fearless, open, hasty, honest, inquisitive, sincere, and as void of dissimulation and hypocrisy as a child. Add to this,
that

that he writes like a man who had no turn for such things, and was not only no poet, but not a verse-maker. But though he was incapable of forgery, he was deluded by these forged oracles, and perhaps by his authority led the Fathers who lived after him into the same error.

Tatian makes no use of the Sibylline Oracles, and only just mentions the Sibyl amongst the writers who were before Homer, and after Moses. *Orat. contr. Græc.* § 41.

Athenagoras, to shew that the Gods of the Gentiles were men, produces six verses from the Sibyl. *Legat.* § 30.

Theophilus gives us no less than eighty-four Sibylline verses, *ad Autol.* ii, the same which stand in the beginning of the Editions of these Oracles, and which are mere patch-work of Scripture-phrase. When the Greek poets said things consonant to the holy Scriptures, *Theophilus* observes that they stole their knowledge from the Law and the Prophets, κλέψαντες ταῦτα ἐκ νόμου ἔ

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τ̃ προφητῶν. It is strange that he did not suspect the same thing of the Sibyl, whose thefts are so open and glaring. ii. 37.

The Sibylline verses cited by the Fathers, and those which are preserved in our present collection, are often the same, and always of the same stamp and value, and liable to the same objections. It is a vain thing to receive the one, and reject the other: it is better to defend them all heroically in the lump, and not to do the work by halves, nor make a distinction where there is no difference.

Clemens Alexandrinus was learned, and willing to shew his learning, and to let the world see that he had perused all sorts of authors; and therefore could not possibly omit the Sibyl.

He produces these verses (from the Sibyl, though he names her not) in praise of the Hebrews, *Cohort.* 60.

“Οἱ τινες σὺν ἀπάτησι κενῶις, εἰδ’ ἐργ’ ἀνθρώπων
Χρῦσεα καὶ χάλκεα, καὶ ἀργύρεα, καὶ ἐλέφαντες,
Καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε, βροτῶν εἰδῶλα θανόντων,
Τιμῶ-

Τιμῶσιν, ὅσαπέρ τε βροτοὶ, κενεόφρονι βελῇ.
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ αἶψα σιν πρὸς ἔρανον ὠλένας ἀγνάς,
 Ὁρθεῖται ἐξ Ὀνῆς, αἰεὶ χροῶν ἀγνίζοντες
 Ὑδάσι, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τ' αἰεὶ μεδέοντα
 Ἀθάνατον

Qui nusquam vanis erroribus inducti, ho-
minum opera

Ex ebore argentoque, ex auro denique et
aere,

E saxi lignoque hominum simulacra per-
emptorum,

Horrent, et quaecumque alii, vanissima tur-
ba.

At contra puras tollunt ad sidera palmas,
Mane ubi membra levant strato, quæ vir-
gine lymphæ

Perfundunt: unumque colunt, qui cuncta
gubernat,

Usque immortalem.

I give this version, as I find it in the Oxford Edition, and shall not trouble myself to mend it. The fifth verse seems to be taken from St. Paul — ἐπαίροντας ὁσὶς χεῖρας. 1 Tim. ii. 8. Perhaps, πρὸς γ' ἔ-

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ερανὸν, for the sake of metre, and also ὠλέ-
 νας αἰγνὲς, from ὠλῶ; for the last syllable
 of ὠλένας from ὠλένη is long. In the last
 verse for Ἀθανάϊον, Sylburgius would read
 Ἀθανάτων, I know not why. This passage
 may be found in the *Sibyll. Or.* L. iii.

Amongst the Sibylline Verses cited by
Theophilus and *Clemens*, are these :

Εἷς Θεός ἐστι, βροχὰς, ἀνέμους, σεισμὸς ὀπιπέμ-
 πων,
 Ἀσεροπαῖς, λιμὲς, λοιμὲς, καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ,
 Καὶ νιφεῖδς, κρύσαλλα· τί δὴ καθ' ἐν ἑξαλο-
 ρβύω;

*Unus Deus est, imbres, ventos, terræ mo-
 tus immittens,
 Fulgura, fames, pestes, et luctus tristes,
 Et nives, et glaciem. Et quid singula
 commemoro?*

This is taken from the *Psalms*. Τοῦ δι-
 δόν[ο]ς χίωνα — βάλλον[ο]ς κρύσαλλον αὐτῷ
 — Χάλαζα, χιῶν, κρύσαλλ[ο]ς, πνεῦμα κα-
 ταιγίδ[ο]ς — cxlvii. cxlviii.

Minucius Felix mentions not the Sibyl,
 though he was invited to it by his sub-
 ject,

ject, where he defends the Christians for teaching the doctrine of a conflagration and a future judgment, and appeals to the Poets and Philosophers who had said the same thing. c. xxxiv. etc. I am glad of it, for the sake of that ingenious and agreeable Author.

The Phrygian Sibyl is said to have been called *Diana*, Ἀρτέμις, and to have uttered these verses at Delphi :

ὦ Δελφοὶ θεράπωντες ἐκηβόλας Ἀπόλλωνος,
ἦλθον ἐγὼ χρῆσασα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
αὐτοκασιγνήτω κεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

*O Delphi, Phæbi ferientis qui eminus estis
Servi, veni ad vos Jovis expositura potentis
Mentem, germano succensens plurima Phæbo.*

Thus Clemens *Strom.* i. p. 384. and Pausanias also says that the Sibyl calls herself Herophile, and Diana, and the sister, and sometimes the wife, and sometimes the daughter of Apollo. See the notes.

We have here, I think, the fragment of a true old Sibylline Oracle made by a
Y 3 Pagan.

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Pagan. It looks as if it were composed by some Priest, who had a mind to set up an Oracle in opposition to the Delphic, and to draw the trade to another shop.

Pausanias in *Phoc.* gives us this Sibylline Oracle predicting a defeat of the Athenians, and made, I suppose, after the event;

Καί τὸτ' Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύσωνα κήδεα θήσῃ
Ζῶς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ἔπερ κράτ' ἐς μέγιστον.
Νηυσὶ φέρῃ πολέμοιο μάχῃν ἔθ' ἀγνοήσῃ
Ὀλλυμδύαις δολεροῖσι τρώποισι, κακότηῃ νομήων.

*Ac tum Cecropidis luctum gemitusque ciebit
Jupiter altitonans, rerum cui summa potestas.*

*Navibus exitium, et crudelia funera bello
Ille feret, culpaque ducum dabit omnia pessum.*

Dio, or *Xiphiline*, mentions a verse, pretended to be a Sibylline Oracle, concerning Nero, which was handed about
‘when Nero had burnt the city of Rome;

‘ Nero killed his mother, A. D. 59. and burnt the city A. D. 64.

and

and which, to be sure, was composed after he had killed his mother ;

Ἐχάτη Αἰνεαδῶν μηροκλόν ἡγεμονόσφ.

Ultimus Æneadum matrem necat induperator.

But, says the Historian, it was really fulfilled. Indeed ! As if it required divination, to foresee that such a debauched, miserable, odious wretch as Nero would in all probability die without heirs, or be cut off by some conspiracy, and that with him the Julian family would be extinguished ! Nero married Sporus, upon which one of the Wits of those days observed, that it had been well for mankind, *Si pater ejus Domitius talem duxisset uxorem.*

— ἕτερον λόγιον, ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὂν, ἥδον· ἔσι ᾗ τοῦτο,

Ἐχάτος —

Καὶ ἔρχεν οὕτως, εἴ τε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς Θεομαντεία τινὶ προλεχθὲν, εἴτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τῷ ὁμίλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν. τελευταῖος γὰρ τῷ Ἰσλίων τῷ ἀπὸ Ἀινείδης γροσφύων ἐμονάρχησε.
Hunc versum, ut vere Sibyllinum, canere cæperunt,

Ultimus ---

Id quod accidit, sive vere prædictum divino Oraculo, sive afflatu multitudinis ex statu rerum qui tum erat: nam is ultimus ex Julii familia, quæ ab Ænea profecta erat, regnavit. Xiphil. p. 180. ed. Steph.

I shall conclude this poetical Section with an Oracle from the *Anthologia*, and as good an Oracle as the Sibyl ever uttered:

Πρὸς τὴν μάντιν Ὀλυμπον Ὀνήσιμος ἦλθ' ὁ πα-
λαιστῆς,

Καὶ πένταθλον Ὑλᾶς, καὶ σταδίου Μενεκλῆς,

Τίς μέλλει νικᾶν αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα, θέλοντες

πυλῶναι καὶ κεῖν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνιδῶν,

Πάντες, ἔφη, νικᾶτε, μόνον μή τις σὲ παρέλθῃ,

καὶ σὲ καλασρέψῃ, καὶ σὲ ὀρθοτροχάσῃ.

Thus imitated by Aufonius:

*Doctus Hylas cæstu, Phegeus catus arte
palæstræ,*

Clarus Olympiacis et Lycus in stadiis,

An possent omnes venturo vincere agone,

Hammonem Libyæ consulere deum.

Sed

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Sed Deus, ut sapiens, Dabitur victoria vo-
bis

Indubitata quidem, si caveatis, ait,
Ne quis Hylam cæstu, ne quis certamine
luctæ

Phegea, ne cursu te, Lyce, prætereat.

THERE is an *Epistle* ascribed to BARNABAS: we cannot certainly know by whom it was written.

The first who cites it is Clemens Alexandrinus, who was born about the middle of the second century, and there is a passage in it, which shews that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. We may therefore conclude that it was composed after A. D. LXX. and before CLXXX, and probably in the first century.

He says of the Temple; *Διὰ τὸ πò πολε-*
μειν αὐτοῦς, καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, νῦν δὲ
αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποηρέτῃ ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν (ἀν-
οικοδομοῦσιν) αὐτὸν. Nam quia bellum gesse-
runt, ab hostibus destructum est; nunc ve-

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ro ipsi hostium ministri illud reædificant.

xvi. He mentions not this destruction, as an event which had just then come to pass, but says indefinitely *καθ' ἡμέραν*, as if some time at least were elapsed since that calamity. There is a great conformity between the subject of this Epistle and of that to the Hebrews; but a great difference between the Epistles, for that to the Hebrews is in all respects superior.

Since the author of this Epistle, as it now stands, discovers not himself, and gives no internal mark by which we may find him out, and since the name of ^d Barnabas might be common to other persons, or assumed on purpose, one would willingly take occasion from hence to ascribe it to some unknown author, rather than to the Apostle Barnabas. If it was really the work of St. Paul's companion, there are internal characters in it, which should incline us to judge that he was not at that time under any particular guidance of the

^d *Barnabas, or Son of consolation.*

Holy Spirit. The ancient Christians judged so, and received it not as a Canonical book, which shews also that they were not so very credulous, and so ready to adopt every thing, as they are imagined by some to have been.

Barnabas is supposed by Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and many of the Ancients, to have been one of the seventy disciples; Tillemont. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 408. and when he is first mentioned in the *Acts*, nothing is said to intimate that he was converted after Christ's ascension.

When he preached with Paul, the Pagans of Lystra took him to be Jupiter, and Paul to be Mercurius, whence it might be conjectured that he looked, and that he was, much older than St. Paul: but I dare not lay a stress on this argument. Chrysostom says that he was *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅψους αἰξιοπρεπής*, that he had an air which commanded esteem and respect. I fancy that Chrysostom had the same conjecture in his mind, and thought that the Pagans were induced to take Barnabas for Jupiter,

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piler, from his amiable aspect and majestic countenance, fit for the *Father of Gods and men*. Upon the whole, there may be room to suspect either that he did not survive the destruction of Jerusalem, or that he was then very old, and *emeritus*, and not likely to write a long and laboured Epistle.

It has been said that Barnabas and Clemens Romanus speak not of miracles as being performed in the Church in their time. Suppose it to be true, the same thing might be observed of some Epistles in the New Testament, particularly of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, when St. Paul and some other Apostles were living, and preaching the Gospel in various places, *the Lord working with them, and, as we may justly suppose, confirming the word with Signs following.*

Barnabas, ch. xii. says, ἐπέτειε ὁ πάντα ἔφην δάκνεν αὐτοῖς. that is: *God caused all sorts of serpents to bite the people of Israel in the wilderness.* I have sometimes
thought

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 thought that it should be πυρένλα ὄφιν.
Num. xxi. 6. *Misit Dominus in populum
 serpentes urentes, Seraphim; ignitos,* as
 Jerom renders it. The LXX. indeed has
 θανατίζοντας. We translate it *fiery serpents*. Πυ-
 ρένλα ὄφιν, in the singular, for *fiery serpents*,
 would be an Hebraism, as *ψ* 7. *Ora ut
 tollat a nobis serpentem:* but the emenda-
 tion is uncertain. Justin Martyr speaking,
 of the same thing, says — ἀπλώτησαν αὐτοῖς
 ἰοδόλα θηρία, ἐχιδναί τε καὶ ἀσπίδες, ἃ ὀφείων
 πάντες ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἐθανάτησεν τὸ λαόν. *Apol.* i. § 60.
 which favours the received reading in Bar-
 nabas. One would almost think that Jus-
 tin took his πάντες ἡμεῖς from Barnabas.
 Le Clerc thinks that he has found a re-
 mark in Justin's *Apology* borrowed from
 Barnabas. *Bibl. Choix.* iii. 391. The Be-
 nedictin Editor of Justin is of the same
 opinion, *Addend.* p. 603.

Valentinus, who taught his heretical
 doctrines about A. D. 140. and might be
 born at the end of the first or the begin-
 ning of the second century, says; Εἰς δὲ
 εἰς ἀγαθὸς ἔστι παρρησία ἢ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν φανέρωσις.

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καὶ δι' αὐτῶν μόνου διώαιτο ἀν' ἡ καρδία καθαρεῖ θυ-
 ἐας, παντὸς πονηρῶν πονέματι. ἐξωθευμένων δ'
 καρδίας· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνοικῶντα αὐτῇ πονέματα
 ὅσα ἐὰν καθαρεύειν ἔκαστον ἢ αὐτῶν, τὰ ἴδια
 ἐκλειεῖ ἔργα, πολλαχῶς ἐνυβερίζοντων ὀπιθυ-
 μίαις δ' προσηκέσαις· καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁμοίον τι πά-
 ρειν τῷ πανδοχείῳ ἡ καρδία· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνο καλα-
 τίσσεται τε καὶ ὀρύττεται, καὶ πολλάκις κόπρεται πί-
 πλῃ, ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγῶς ἐμυλόνων, ἢ μηδε-
 μίαν πρόνοιαν ποιευμένων τῶν χωρῶν, καθάπερ
 ἀλλοτρίως καθεστῶται. τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἡ
 καρδία, μέχρι μὴ προνοίας τυγχάνει, ἀκάθαρ-
 τος ἔσα, πολλῶν ἔσα δαιμόνων οἰκηήμενον·
 ἐπειδὴν ἢ ὀπισκίψῃ αὐτὴν ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς
 Πατήρ, ἡγίασαι, καὶ φωτὶ θαλάμπτει· καὶ οὕτω
 μακαρίζεται ὁ ἔχων τὴν πιαύτῃ καρδίαν, ὅτι
 ὁφείτω τὸν Θεόν. *Est autem unus Bonus, cu-*
jus fiduciā est ea quæ fit per Filium mani-
festatio, et per eum solum potest cor fieri
mundum, ejecto ex corde omni maligno spi-
ritu. Multi enim in eo habitantes spiritus,
id mundum esse non sinunt. Unusquisque
autem eorum propria efficit opera, sæpe non
convenientibus insultans cupiditatibus. Ac
mibi quidem videtur cor non esse absimile
diversorio : illud enim perforatur et effo-
ditur

ditur, et stercore sæpe repletur, cum homines se petulanter gerant, et locum nihil omnino curent, ut qui sit alienus. Eodem modo cor quoque: cum, quamdiu nulla ejus providentia geritur, sit immundum et multorum Dæmonum habitaculum: postquam autem id inviserit, qui solus est bonus Pater, sanctificatum est, et luce resplendet, et sic qui tali est corde præditus, beatur, quoniam Deum videbit.

This fragment is preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus *Strom.* ii. p. 489. where he stands up for human liberty against the Valentinians, who were a sort of Fatalists, or Predestinarians, and thought themselves to be the only Elect. Observe that Valentinus bears witness to the authority of the New Testament, for he takes passages or expressions from it to insinuate and recommend his own doctrines, as ἡοῦ φανέρωσις — δαιμόνων οἰκητήριον — Ἐπισκέψη — μόνον ἀγαθὸς Πατήρ — ὡς Διὰ λάμπει — μακαρίζεται etc. — ὁ ψεύς Θεόν. See 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. *Rev.* xviii. 2. *Luke* vii. 16. *Mat.* xix. 17. *Luke* xi. 36. *Mat.* v. 8.

He

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He also seems upon the whole to imitate Barnabas, who says, *Πρὸ τῆς ἡμᾶς πίστευσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές — ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας, ἔκ ἦν οἴκηται δαιμόνων — Διὸ ἐν τῷ καλοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεός· κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν· πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτῆς τῆς πίστεως —*
Antequam nos Deo crederemus, erat nostrum cordis habitaculum interitui obnoxium et imbecillum --- quia erat quidem plenum cultu idolorum, et erat domus Dæmonum, --- Quare in domicilio nostro vere Deus existit: habitat in nobis. Quomodo? Verbum ejus fidei ---

CLEMENS ROMANUS is an author on whom I made some remarks, *Disc. vi. p. 207. 2^d edit.* I have only this to add: Clemens *Epist. i. 4.* says, *Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ἀπέδρα* --- *Propter æmulationem pater noster Jacobus aufugit* --- whence, I find, some persons have lately discovered and concluded that Clemens was a Jew. I think the passage will not prove it. Theophilus *ad Autol. iii. 23.* ---

τὰ γράμματα τῷ θεῷ νόμος, τῷ ἀπὸ Μωσέως
 ἡμῶν δεδομένον. The Law was given to us,
 says Theophilus ; and yet he had been
 converted from Paganism to Christianity.
 Therefore when any ancient Christian
 writers use such expressions, it is not
 to be inferred thence, with any kind
 of certainty, that they were of Jewish ex-
 traction, or even that they had been pro-
 felytes to Judaism. Indeed nothing is
 more natural than for Christians to speak
 as if they were Abraham's children ; as if
 the Law, and the Prophets and the Pa-
 triarchs belonged to them as well as to the
 Jews. In the same book § 24. Theo-
 philus says, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῶν.
 94. Δαυὶδ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν. 27. Ἀβραὰμ
 τῷ προπάτρί ἡμῶν.

HERMAS is cited by Irenæus, who
 was born about A. D. 120. He is also
 observed to have made no mention of mi-
 racles ; but he had nothing to lead him
 to it, and his book is taken up with vi-
 sions and revelations. I offered a conje-

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ecture concerning it, that it was a parable.
Disc. vi on the Christ. Rel.

He mentions a vision of a formidable beast threatning to devour him, from which he was preserved, and he interprets this of a great tribulation which was to come upon the Christians, and which some have applied to Domitian's persecution. L. i. *Vis. ii.* § 2, 3. p. 77. *Vis. iv.* p. 82.

POLYCARP, of whose Epistle I have taken notice, p. 67. suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius with exemplary courage and constancy. His death is said to have been honoured with some miracles, which are of such a kind, and attended with such circumstances, that there is some reason to pause, and to doubt of them. But this shall perhaps be considered in its proper place.

THE *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* of CLEMENS, written, as it is thought, in
the

the second century, contain as much truth as Lucian's True History, Ariſteas, Gulliver's Travels; the Lives of ſeveral Monks, of Lazarillo, of David Simple, and of Gill Blafs. It would not be a reasonable request to deſire any man to confute this work. It is ſufficient to refer the Reader to the judgment of Cotelierius, p. 607.

I ſhall only produce one paſſage, and none of the worſt, for a ſpecimen. Peter is introduced ſaying, *Quod cum vidisset Gamaliel princeps populi, qui latenter frater noſter erat in fide, ſed conſilio noſtro inter eos erat* --- i. 65.

Here this knave of a forger makes Peter, or *Lord Peter*, as he commonly calls him, and the reſt of the Apoſtles mere politicians, who perſuade Gamaliel to diſſemble his religion, and to act the part of a ſpy and a hypocrite.

In the Recognitions, ii. 13. Simon Magus is introduced ſpeaking thus: *Pueri incorrupti et violenter necati animam adju-*

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*ramentis ineffabilibus evocatam adfistere
mibi feci, et per ipsam fit omne quod jubeo.*

Dr. Middleton thus translates it: *Simon Magus confessed to one of his companions, that he wrought all his amazing works, by the help of the soul of an healthy young boy, who had been violently put to death for that purpose, and then called up from the dead, by ineffable adjurations, and compelled to be his assistant. Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers etc. p. 67.*

Pueri incorrupti animam. In the Greek it was, I suppose, Παιδὸς ἀδιαφθόρου ψυχὴν. Justin Martyr calls such children ἀδιαφθόρους, and Socrates the historian ἀφθόρους παῖδας. Justin *Apol.* i. p. 27. Νεκυομαντεῖαι μὲν γὰρ, καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφθόρων παιδῶν ἐποπλίσεις. — *Necyomantiæ enim, et incorruptorum puerorum inspectiones* --- Socrates iii. 13. Καὶ τελεῖάς τινες ζώϊσασαν, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ λαχνοσκοπέμενοι παῖδας καθαύειν ἀφθόρους — which Valefius translates, *Quin etiam nefanda quædam mysteria ab illis excogitata sunt; ita ut pueros impuberes immolarent, extaque eorum inspicerent* —

I once

I once told Dr. Middleton, that I was inclined to think that in this place *incorruptus* meant *impubis* rather than *sanus*. Ἀδιάφθορος, ἄφθορος, *incorruptus*, mean properly *impollutus*, *expers veneris*; and they are used for *impubis*, because children are usually *impolluti*. παῖδα or κόρην διαφθείρειν is *stuprare*. Ἄφθορος, *impubes*, *impollutus*, *incorruptus*, *imberbis*; say the Lexica. ἄφθορος παῖς, *puer imberbis* Diosc. ii. c. 102. Καὶ πολλοὶ τινες καὶ πολλαὶ, ἐξηκοντῷ καὶ ἑβδόμηκοντῷ, οἱ δὲ παίδων ἐμαθῆναι ἔθυσαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμύσει. *Et multi sexus utriusque, et sexaginta et septuaginta nati annos, qui a pueris disciplinam Christi sunt affectati, incorrupti permanent.* Justin *Apol.* i. 22. ed. Tb. ἄφθοροι, *impolluti*, *expertes veneris*, *etiam legitimæ.* *Qui inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur*, says Minucius, c. xxxi.

Concerning such magical rites, see Broukhufius on *Tibullus* i. 11. 45. and Fabricius *Bibl. Antiqu.* p. 417. 419. and Havercamp's Tertullian, *Apol.* 23. *Si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt.* Junius

thinks that this relates to the sacrificing of children, which kind of divination was called *Παιδομαντεία*, *pædomantia*.

AMONGST the Apostolical writers some have placed the author of the EPISTLE to DIOGNETUS, which has been usually ascribed to *Justin Martyr*: See *Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* v. 58. *Tillemont (Hist. Eccl.* ii. p. 493.) first declared that he was inclined for some reasons, to think it more ancient, and written before A. D. 70. He says also that a learned man, whom he names not, had been of that opinion. The last Editor of Justin thinks that they are mistaken, as to the antiquity of this Epistle, and is in doubt whether it should be ascribed to Justin, or no. *Præf.* p. lxxiv. Baratier gives it to *Clemens Romanus*, and Mr. Whiston to *Timothy*. In this Epistle there are many allusions to the New Testament, which Mr. Whiston has marked in the margin of his Translation, and there is nothing said concerning any miraculous powers
and

and gifts amongst Christians. It is *opus eximium et præstantissimum*, says the Benedictin Editor, and Baratier and Mr. Whiston are of the same opinion. Diognetus, who is called *νεγίτης*, was, we may suppose, if he really existed, a man of some rank. His Honour wanted to be informed of the nature of Christianity, and why this new religion was not made known sooner, and for what reasons the Christians exposed themselves to persecution and to death, neglecting the things of this world, and rejecting the religions of the Greeks and of the Jews. To these queries our Author replies in a Letter, in which the truth of Christianity is, in a manner, taken for granted, and nothing is urged that was proper to convince and convert an unbeliever; so that Diognetus, if he had been morose and censorious, would have concluded, that this writer had found a new religion, but had lost something else. One would think that the Apologist would have mentioned the prophecies of the Old Testament accomplished in Christ, the miracles of Christ

and of his Apostles, and other proofs of the truth and importance of Christianity. Not at all. He begins with setting forth the folly of worshipping images, and thinking them to be real Gods, and this he gives as the reason for which Christians rejected the religion of the Gentiles.

The Jews, says he, though they worship one God, yet offer him sacrifices, as if he stood in need of such gifts, and were to be fed with the steam of victims ; they are also superstitious observers of the difference between food clean and unclean, of the sabbath, of circumcision, fasts, feasts, new moons, *etc.* Therefore we Christians reject the Jewish religion.

What he says on this head is not only too severe upon the Jews, but incautious, and injudicious, and, if it proved any thing, would prove more than he intended, and was aware of, and bear hard upon the Mosaic Law. The same defect may be observed in some arguments of Arnobius upon the same subject.

Then

Then he proceeds to observe that Christians were examples of all that was good, and patient under afflictions and ill usage; that God sent his Son to suffer for men, to redeem, and to instruct them, who, before he came, knew not God, and who were grown very wicked; all which, if intended as a sufficient proof of Christianity, was little better than begging the question.

He speaks of the Jews, as if at that time they offered up sacrifices, whence some learned men have concluded that he wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem; but the argument is scarcely conclusive, especially, when we consider what sort of a writer we have to do with. *Sacrificia quidem, says the Benedictin, Judæi offerre desierunt post urbis et templi excidia. Sed tamen cum author epistolæ quid intersit Judæos inter et Christianos exponat, non immerito in Judæis aspernatur cruenta illa animalium sacrificia, quæ et Judaici cultus pars erant insignis, et sibi per vim erepta Judæi, si minus usu, saltem*
I *animo*

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animo et voluntate retinebant. Pluribus aliis contigit Judæos eodem modo exagitare. S. Phileas Martyr de Judæis sic loquitur, Act. Mart. p. 444. " Solis Judæis præceptum fuerat sacrificare Deo soli in Jerosolyma. Nunc autem peccant Judæi in locis aliis solemnia sua celebrantes, etc. Præf. p. 75.

I cannot believe that this Epistle was written by Justin Martyr; for Justin would have managed the argument better, and have omitted neither the prophecies, nor the miracles. The Author seems to have been some Gentile converted to Christianity, who had perused Justin's *Cohortatio ad Græcos*.

Justin begins it thus : Ἀρχόμηνος τ' πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς θαινέσεως, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, εὐχομαι τῷ Θεῷ ἐμοὶ μὴ ὑπάρξαι, τὰ δέοντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν· ὑμᾶς ὅ, τῆς περιέρας ἀφευγέας φιλονεικίας, καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων πλάνης ἀπ' ἀλλαγῆτας, ἐλέσθαι τὰ λυσιτελεῖν νωί.
Cohortationem apud vos, Græci, instituens, Deum precor, ut mihi quidem apud vos, ut par est, dicere contingat; vos autem pri-
5
stinam

stinam pertinaciam relinquentes, et a majorum discedentes errore, quæ utilia sunt in præsentia eligatis. This is an imitation of the *exordium* in the oration of Demosthenes for Ctesiphon: and as Justin imitates Demosthenes, so the writer of the Epistle imitates Justin --- Ὡς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς, τὸ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χωρηγῶντος, αἰτῶμαι δοθῆναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰπεῖν ἔτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαι [ἀκούσαντά] σε βελτίω γρηύω. Ζοί τε [ᾧ] ἔτως ἀκούσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα. *Peto a Deo, qui et loquendi et audiendi nobis facultatem suppeditat, ut ab eo detur, mihi quidem, ita verba facere ut in primis contingat, te, postquam audieris, meliorem evadere; et tibi, ita audire, ut tristitia non afficiatur is qui verba fecerit.*

This is said well enough:

amphora cæpit

Institui; currente rota, cur urceus exit?

The Epistle has a few chasms, but there seems to be only a little of it that is lost. It was perhaps an Exercise, or Declamation,

tion, addressed to a great man, with whom the author had no acquaintance ; as some modern Epistles to the Pope, and to Lewis the fourteenth, which were never presented.

A S I have had occasion to mention Tillemont, and shall probably often cite him hereafter, I take this opportunity to own my obligations to him for his useful and laborious collections. After this due respect and acknowledgment, I hope it will be permitted to make a few observations which may do others some good, and can now do him no harm, nor destroy the peace which I believe he enjoys in a better world.

His History of the Emperors is very valuable ; but he has filled his other books with an account of trifling, absurd, ridiculous miracles.

He never affirms facts without vouchers, but he often makes use of bad ones in his Ecclesiastical History, and builds
upon

upon a sandy foundation, upon the testimony of forgers, fanatics, and of interested persons, who write in their own behalf, and want to discredit their adversaries.

He commonly proceeds upon a supposition that they who have obtained the honour of *Ecclesiastical knighthood*, and are called *Saints*, are all excellent men, and entirely to be trusted, and that all they who were, or were accounted *heterodox*, are to be little regarded, and held in bad esteem.

He seems to have been a pious, humble, meek and modest, as well as a very learned and accurate man; and yet he cannot forbear insulting Protestant writers as heretics, even those to whom he and the Christian world had great obligations, as Usher, Pearson, *etc.* He takes all opportunities, and sometimes goes out of his way to seek opportunities of inculcating the horrible doctrine that the very best of Pagans, heretics, and schismatics are condemned to suffer eternal tortures.

Speaking

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Speaking of young Tiberius, who was murdered by order of the Emperor Caius, and compelled by the soldiers, as Philo relates it, to thrust a sword into his own body, he concludes the melancholy tale with this reflexion, --- *Thus by his own hand he ended his miserable life, to begin another the misery of which will never end.* Hist. des Emp. i. p. 142. Observe that this unhappy youth was then but nineteen years of age, that he had been bred up at court under Tiberius, in a sort of genteel prison, that probably he had never heard Christianity even mentioned, and that History relates no one bad thing concerning him: So that the Pagan ignorance of this poor child was altogether invincible, and might have been thought sufficient to qualify him at least for Purgatory.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!

It is remarkable that in the little edition of Tillemont the passage stands thus --- *he ended his miserable life.* what follows was added afterwards in the *Quarto edit.*
whence

whence we may learn that the good man, as he grew older, grew more uncharitable in his religious notions. The apophthegm of Horace is not always true,

Lenit albescens animos capillus.

The hoary heads of some persons are like mount Ætna, where the snow and the fire dwell together in strict friendship.

*Sed, quamvis nimio fervens exuberet æstu,
Scit nivibus servare fidem ---*

Claudian *Rapt. Prof.* i. 165.

These are some of the doctrines which have unhappily helped to propagate Atheism or Deism, and have made many a man say to himself, *If this be Christianity, let my soul be with the philosophers.*

The old Christians were more charitable, and had nobler sentiments of the Divine Benignity. Justin Martyr, in his *Apology* i. 46. speaks handsomely of Socrates and of other worthy men in the Pagan world, and represents them as a sort of Christians, and doubtless entertained

tained favourable thoughts of their future state. Τὸν Χρυσὸν πρωτότοκον ὃ Θεὸς εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμλυόμενον λόγον ὄντα, καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέχευε καὶ οἱ μὲν λόγῳ βιώσαντες, Χρυσιανοὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἄθεοι ἐνομιώθησαν. οἷον ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς — ὥστε καὶ οἱ προγενόμενοι ἄνθρωποι λόγῳ βιώσαντες, ἀχρηστοὶ καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῷ Χρυσῷ ἦσαν, καὶ φονεῖς τῶν μὲν λόγῳ βιβύων· οἱ δὲ μὲν λόγῳ βιώσαντες, καὶ βιβύοντες, Χρυσιανοὶ καὶ ἀφοβοὶ, καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάραχσι. *Christum primogenitum Dei esse ac Rationem illam, cujus omne hominum genus particeps est, didicimus, et supra declaravimus. Et qui cum ratione vixerunt, Christiani sunt, etiam si athei existimati sint; quales apud Græcos fuere Socrates et Heraclitus, iisque similes --- Similiter qui olim absque ratione vixere, improbi et Christo inimici fuere, et eorum qui cum ratione vivebant, homicidæ. Qui vero cum ratione vixerunt et vivunt, Christiani sunt, atque impavidi atque intrepidi.* Ed. Paris. 1742. Now turn to the Preface, pag. xxxii. and see the Benedictin Editor, fighting for a Theological System which has nothing at all to do

do with an edition of Justin, and taking great pains to clear the good Father from the shameful imputation of supposing that a virtuous Pagan might be saved, as well as a Monk. What will the Benedictin say for Clemens Alexandrinus? This learned and good-natured Father was of opinion that Christ and his Apostles preached the Gospel in *Hades* to the dead, and that the souls which repented and believed were received to favour:

ἐπεὶ ζῳήημοι, καὶ παιδευτικαὶ αἱ ^a κολάσεις τῷ Θεῷ, εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἄγασται, καὶ τὴν μελάνοιαν τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν θάνατον αἰρούμεναι· καὶ ταῦτα καθαρώτερον διορθῶν δυναμίδων τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπηλλαγμένων ψυχῶν, καὶ πᾶ-

^a Διαφέρει ἡ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κόλασις ἔστι πάχυνσις ἐνεκά ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία τῷ ποιῶντι· says Aristotle. In Xenophon. *Oecon.* terra κολάζεται, i. e. emendatur. See A. Gellius vi. 14. Θεὸς δὲ ἔστι τιμωρεῖται· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία, κακῶς ἀνταπόδοσις· κολάζει μέντοι πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πῶς κολαζομένοις. Clemens *Strom.* vii. p. 895. Origen was of the same opinion, and perhaps carried it somewhat farther.

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θεῶν Παισνομένων), ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ΕΠΙΠΡΟΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ Ἰατρικῶν. *Sunt enim salutare, et quæ erudiunt, Dei castigationes, adducentes ad conversionem, et potius pœnitentiam peccatoris eligentes quam mortem: idque præcipue cum possint animæ purius perspicere, quæ sunt liberæ a corporibus, etiamsi obscurentur perturbationibus, eo quod non se amplius eis opponat et impediat caruncula.*

I think it should be, --- Πιπροδεῖα σαρκῶ, obnubilari, from Πιπροδέω. For the corrections of God are salutary, and instructive, leading to amendment, and preferring the repentance to the death of a sinner; and souls in their separate state, though obumbrated with perturbations, yet have a clearer discernment, than they had whilst they were in the body, as they are no longer clouded and encumbered with the flesh. Strom. vi. p. 764. See also p. 794. and the notes.

IN the EPISTLES of IGNATIUS there is a harshness of style, but a lively spirit, and a noble enthusiasm, especially in that to the Romans.

He tells the *Ephesians* that he had a design to write them another letter, and to instruct them in some points, *μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ Κύριός μοι ἀποκαλύψῃ*, especially if the Lord should reveal any thing to me. Whence it seems not improbable that he had been favoured with some revelations. xx.

The same inference may be made from these words to the *Philadelph.* vii. *When I exhorted you to adhere to your Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons, some of you suspected that I had been informed of dissensions amongst you, μάρτυς δὲ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης σὰρξ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσεν λέγων τάδε· Χωρὶς τῆς ὁπισκοπῆς μηδὲν ποιᾶτε. Testis autem mihi is est, in quo vinctus sum, quod a carne humana non cognoverim; sed Spiritus annuntiavit,*

A a 2

nunciavit, dicens ista ; Sine Episcopo nihil facite.

Ad Rom. vii. Ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τῷ ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσαύρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοί, πῦρ φιλοῦλον ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον, δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. *Vivens enim scribo vobis, amore captus moriendi. Meus amor crucifixus est ; et non est in me ignis amans materiæ. Sed aqua vivens et loquens in me, intus mihi dicit ; Veni ad Patrem.*

There is in this something very sublime and pathetic. The expression ὕδωρ λαλοῦν, resembles the *vocales undæ* which inspired the Poets and Prophets. Statius *Silv.* i. ii. 6.

Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.

An Oracle of Apollo Delphicus given to Julian, and preserved by Cedrenus :

Εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλός
αὐλά.

Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, ἔ μάντιδά
δάφνιν,

Οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσιν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον
ὕδωρ.

Dicite

Dicite regi, humi cecidit elegans aula.

Non amplius Phæbus habet casam, non vaticinatricem laurum,

Non fontem loquentem, extincta est etiam garrula aqua.

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian's compassion, deplores the silence of his Oracles and of the *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon, xiii.

Οἱ ᾗ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις

Δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου

Λάλου πιίνῃς ὕδωρ

Μεμνηότες βοῶσιν.

Nec non aquam bibentes

Apollinis loquacem

Ripis Clari, furore

Acti subinde clamant.

Vetus Interpres (says Cotelierius) *Et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam: sed vivens et loquens est in me. Hoc est Græce; Καὶ σὺν ἔσιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλεῖν τι ὕδωρ. ζῶν ᾗ καὶ λαλεῖν, αὐτὸ λαλέμενον ἐν ἐμοί. In Interpolatâ, Καὶ σὺν ἔσιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φι-*

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λᾶν τι ὕδωρ ᾗ ζῶν, ἀλλόρμον ἐν ἐμοί. Et non est in me ignis qui aliquid amet : sed aqua viva, intra me saliens. *Ex antiquo Interprete* ; Et non est in me, aqua autem alia viva manet in me. *Legebat quippe ἄλλο et ῥῥῖ, loco ἀλλόρμον : et omisit quæ non intelligebat. Apud Metaphrastem, quem sequuntur Græci in Menæo ;* Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοί πῦρ φιλόῦλον ὕδωρ ᾗ μᾶλλον ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. Et non est in me ignis amans materiæ : aqua vero potius vivens et loquens in me. *Perplaceret mihi ;* Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοί πῦρ φιλόῦλον ὕδωρ ᾗ ζῶν, καὶ ἀλλόρμον ἐν ἐμοί. *Nam φιλόῦλον folianus Ignatii interpolati codex retinuit, ἀλλόρμον autem confirmatur per illud Johannis iv. 14. τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ ᾗ ᾗ ᾗ ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλορμόεντος εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam. Græci conjunctim ;* Οὐκ ἔχεις πῦρ φιλόῦλον ἐν σοί, Ἰγνάτιε· ὕδωρ ᾗ ζῶν μᾶλλον καὶ λαλᾶν, δεῦρο πρὸς πᾶν πᾶσι· ὕδωρ τὸ ἀλλόρμον, τὸ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν μετοχέῃον ἡμῶν.

Le Clerc says, *Est in Exemplari Græco, πῦρ φιλόυλον. Ignis materialis est φιλό-υλος, amans materiæ; quâ nempe alitur. Sed spiritalis ignis, quo urebatur Ignatius, materiæ, hoc est, rerum corporearum, amans non erat. Quod est nonnihil coactum, ut et sequentia de aquâ in eo loquente. Sed sancti viri sermo refertus est ejusmodi violentis adlusionibus.*

The λαλοῦν ὕδωρ must not be altered: it is sufficiently confirmed by the citations of Cotelerius in this very note where he is inclined to reject it; and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined.

Ignatius, who was a Syrian, and Bishop of Antioch, was well acquainted with the Oracle of *Apollo Daphneus*, and with the *Castalian fountain*, which were at his door, and which are frequently mentioned by Ecclesiastical Writers. Sozomen in his description of *Daphne* says, Ἦν γὰρ ἐνθάδε Δαφναῖς Ἀπόλλωνος περικαλλές ἄγαλμα, ἃ νεὼς μεγαλοφυῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξαιργασμῶς — ὁπισθίον ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τάδε

A a 4

πρεσ-

πρεσβέουσι, ρεῖν αὐτόθι καὶ ὕδωρ μαυρικὸν ἀπὸ
 Κασαλίας τῆ πεηγῆς, ὁμοίως τῇ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν-
 εργείας τε καὶ προσηγορίας λαχούσης. *Erat
 enim illic Apollinis Daphnæi pulcherrimum
 simulacrum et templum magnifice atque
 ambitiose constructum. --- Credebatur etiam
 ab illis qui ista colunt et prædicant, aquam
 illic divinatricem fluere ex fonte Castalio,
 qui idem nomen eandemque efficaciam habe-
 ret, quam ille Delphicus.* v. 19.

Ignatius therefore opposes to the *speaking prophetic waters* of the Pagans, the *living waters* mentioned by our Lord in *John* iv. 14. which *speaking* better and nobler things than the fabulous and poetic fountains. The Interpolator, who could not put himself in the place of Ignatius, and had not the same thoughts and images which arose in the mind of the Martyr, flung away ὕδωρ λαλῶν, the *speaking water*, which he understood not, and for which he had no taste, and put in ὕδωρ ἀλλόρρυθρον to make it a closer copy from St. John.

In the Interpolated Epistle $\omega\delta\rho \phi\iota\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$ is absurd; but $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\ddot{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu \omega\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ makes good sense. He who in this passage, which we have been examining, can prefer the *larger* to the *shorter* Epistle, must be a critic, who, of different expressions, likes the worst the best, and should be fed with chaff.

They who contend for the *larger* Epistles would do well to weigh one thing, which they never seem to think of, namely, that, whilst they want to support I know not what, they are hurting the reputation of an Apostolical Father, whom they have in great esteem; for if the passages which I have already pointed out, and those which others have censured, could be shewed to be genuine, Ignatius would be much less valued, than he is, by men of sense and judgment. But though the shorter Epistles are on many accounts preferable to the larger, yet I will not affirm that they have undergone no alteration at all.

IGNATIUS suffered under Trajan about the beginning of the second century. Here was a good man put to death by a good emperor; but the Pagans then began to perceive that Christianity, if it prevailed, would prove the ruin of their religion, and some of them probably persuaded Trajan to act contrary to his disposition, which was mild and placable. Pliny, in his Epistle to that Emperor, says that in his province the temples had been in a manner deserted, sacrificing left off, and the worship of the Gods neglected. Trajan forbid the Christians to be sought after, and yet ordered them to be punished if convicted. *O sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos, ut innocentes; et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes. --- Quid temet ipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis?* Thus Tertullian, in his *Apologetic*, inveighs, ingeniously enough, against the inconsistency and absurdity of this sentence, and has had the good fortune to
engage

engage most of his readers in the same way of thinking ; and yet, after all, the Emperor's decree was not quite so absurd as Tertullian imagined. Trajan had no hatred towards the men, and pitied their case, but disliked the religion for the reason above mentioned ; therefore he was willing to treat the Christians gently, but would neither repeal the laws to which they were obnoxious, nor give them leave to exercise their religion freely.

Ignatius expressed an earnest desire to suffer for the sake of Christ, and a great joy at the expectation of it ; but it appears not that he rashly sought or provoked danger. To him might be ^a applied these lines of Lucan, which suit him as if they were made for him :

*Projeci vitam, comites, totusque futuræ
Mortis agor stimulis. --- Agnoscere solis
Permissum est, quos jam tangit vicinia fati,*

^a Le Clerc, Hist. Eccl. p. 566.

*Victurosque Dei celant, ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.*

He speaks of himself with modesty and humility ; he exhorts the Christians to live peaceably together, and to pay a high regard to their bishops and pastors, and has gone too far in his expressions ; but it is something of an excuse for him that the state of the times led him to it. It was to be feared lest the heretics, who in those days were vile persons, should seduce the unwary ; and mutual quarrels might have proved fatal to the common cause. A house ill cemented, and beaten with the storms of persecution, could not have stood.

In his *Epistle* to the *Romans* he desires them not to interpose, and by any ways endeavour to preserve him from martyrdom, and he says that the wild beasts had feared and refused to touch some ^b who

^b I know not whether Ignatius had in view any Christian Martyrs, or Daniel who was cast into the den of lions.

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had been thrown to them, which he hoped would not happen to him. ἀ [θή-
μα] ἡ κολακδύσω σωθόμεως με καλᾶφαγεῖν,
ἐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμδρα ἐχ ἡψανθο.
*Quas et blanditiis demulcebo, ut citius me
devorent; non ut quosdam veritæ non atti-
gerunt.* v. So afterwards, when Blan-
dina was exposed, none of the beasts
would kill her, says Eusebius, who took
it from an authentic history of the mar-
tyrs of Lions in Gaul. v. 1. In Diocle-
tian's persecution, Eusebius was eye-wit-
ness to such a thing; and somewhat of
this kind is related in the Acts of Perpe-
tua. This forbearance of the beasts,
though it did not save the lives of the

^c In Ignatius and Eusebius it is ἡψανθο. Stephanus
reads ἡψαθο, which probably is right, because —
μὴ θέλη follows. But, as to the rule in our Gram-
mars, *Neutra pluralia gaudent verbo singulari*, there
are abundance of exceptions to it, particularly in the
Scriptures. See in the LXX, Genes. xlviii. 6. Isai.
lxiv. 3. Zach. xiii. 7. and Matth. vi. 26. x. 21.
Marc. v. 13. xiii. 12. Luc. xxiv. 11. Joh. x. 8.
Revel. xxi. 4. Homer. Il. τ. 29.

— μή τοι ταῦτα μέλᾳ φρεσὶ σῆσι μελόσιν.

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martyrs, yet it animated and comforted the distressed Christians ; it reprov'd the Pagans for their worse ^e than brutish cruelty, and it might possibly be the happy occasion of converting some, who might be inclined to say at such a sight,

— *non hæc sine numine Divûm
Eveniunt.*

If the lions had been let loose upon Ignatius in the amphitheatre, and had retired and left him unhurt, or fawned upon him, the spectators might possibly have been moved of themselves, or incited by his friends, who were present, to beg the life, or at least the reprieve, of a venerable old man, whom the very brutes had spared, and who seemed protected by heaven ; and such kind of favours were seldom refused to those assemblies. Thus Androcles was saved by the good offices of his old and grateful friend, the lion, and had his life, and liberty, and the lion, given to him, at the request of the people. *A. Gellius* v. 14. *Populi*

^e *Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne ferarum.*

in arenâ præcipuum jus, says Lipsius, *et ad ejus voluntatem domini plerumque se conformabant*. Saturn. ii. 22. The Emperor, it will be said, had condemned him to the lions. But what then? if the lions would not kill him, the Magistrate might, without offence, if he had been so disposed, have respited the Martyr's death, till the Emperor's farther pleasure should be known.

It must be confessed after all, that such wonders are somewhat ambiguous, because wild beasts are not always in a fighting humour, and might be terrified by the strangeness of the place and noise of the populace, and therefore we find that they sometimes used fire, and whips, and other methods to irritate them ; but even these methods were tried in vain, says Eusebius, speaking of what happened, to his own knowledge.

Josephus relates that one of the Ptolemy's exposed the Jews of Ægypt (in the Hippodrome) to be killed by his elephants, whom he had intoxicated with wine,

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wine, to make them more furious; but the beasts, instead of assaulting the poor Jews, turned upon the spectators and destroyed many of them. This, and some terrible appearance, so frightened the king, that he acknowledged the Divine interposition, and set them free, and conferred many favours on them. Josephus adds, that the Jews of Alexandria kept a day in commemoration of this deliverance. *Contr. Apion.* ii. 5. See also *Maccab.* iii. 3, 4, 5. and Prideaux, *Connect.* ii. p. 86. Fol. Ed.^f

It was not necessary that the Christians should be miraculously saved; the favours promised to them by their Master were of another kind: Jesus Christ would not save himself from crucifixion, but he struck those to the ground who came to seize him, and the troubled elements bare witness to his dignity and to his innocence. St. Stephen's martyrdom was also attended with miraculous circumstances. It is therefore no insuperable ob-

^f To this it will perhaps be said, that it is no marvel if a *drunken beast* turned upon his driver.

jection to any wonders which are related to have accompanied the death of the martyrs, that they did not preserve the sufferers. If indeed they are not well attested, or if they appear to have been of the trifling useless kind, and void of all *moral import*; if milk instead of blood flowed from their wounds, and sweet odours issued from the faggots, and pigeons flew out of their mouths, the case is altered, and there is some reason to doubt of such miracles. So again; if a Monk smelt like a civet-cat when he was dead, who smelt like a pole-cat when he was alive, this can hardly pass for a proper and sufficient proof of his sanctity.

The repeated wish of Ignatius was, that he might be torn to pieces and eaten up, that, as he says, he might give no one the trouble of paying him funeral rites.

Vota suos habuere deos ---

His wish was accomplished, and of his body very little was left undevoured.

The account of his martyrdom, in the *Patres Apostolici* vol. ii. p. 157. has the appearance of being genuine, except the last section, which contains the *dreams* of his friends, and which might possibly be added by another hand. See Le Clerc.

They who reject all the Epistles of Ignatius as spurious, reject also the account of his martyrdom. It is inconceivable, say they, that Trajan should have sent an old man, by land, at a great expense, attended with soldiers, from Syria to Rome, instead of casting him to the lions at Antioch: it is also improbable that when he was thus guarded and conducted, he should have been permitted to converse with the Christians, and to give them instructions, and to write Epistles, in the several cities through which he passed. The answer is obvious:

Trajan sent him by land, on purpose, to shew him about, and to make an example of him as of a ring-leader of the sect, *ἀγανερμαλίζειν*, and to deter the Christians from preaching and spreading their

their religion ; and for the same reason he sent him to be executed at Rome, where there were many Christians, and which, as it was the capital of the world, so was it the head quarters of all sorts of religions. *Repressa in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque.* Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 44. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes that tho' there were six hundred nations, which, in a manner, had taken up their abode at Rome, each of which had its own sacred rites, yet no foreign religion had been publicly received by the Romans, or at least not till they had purged and corrected it, and rendered it conformable to their own.

In the time of Trajan, Christianity had made such a progress, that the Romans were jealous, and uneasy at it.

The soldiers who had the custody of Ignatius, made a considerable advantage

of him, and, as we observed before, took money of the Christians for the small indulgence which they shewed to their prisoner, and would have been glad that he had written a hundred Epistles, if they could have obtained a present for each.

TRAJAN had many excellent qualities, and Pope ^a Gregory is said to have prayed his soul out of hell, though Tillemont seems to give no credit to the story, since he passes it by in silence, and pronounces a sentence of ^b reprobation upon the Emperor. Amongst other commendable things which Trajan did, he relaxed the tribute called *Vicesima*, so as to make it less burdensome.

^a Bayle's Dict. TRAJAN.

^b Ses cendres furent receus à Rome en triomphe, dans un char sur lequel on avoit mis son image : et l'on a encore des marques de ce triomphe, si lugubre pour tout le monde, et surtout pour celui qu'on vouloit relever par ces honneurs imaginaires, et que le vray Dieu punissoit dans les enfers — &c. *Hist. des Emp.* tom. ii. p. 205.

Dio Cassius says that Augustus established a treasury for the payment of the army, and upon a deficiency, many ways being proposed by the Senators, and all of them rejected, he fixed upon this expedient, which seems to have been of his own contriving, though he fathered it upon Julius Cæsar, that a *Twentieth* should be paid into the treasury of all inheritances, and legacies bequeathed by will, from which however he exempted those who were near of kin; he also excepted those who were poor, by which I suppose was meant that when the inheritance was small and under a certain value, and the inheritor also was poor, nothing was demanded. See *Dio*, L. lv. p. 566.

Augustus contributed largely to this fund out of his own income, and as he had many legacies left him, he must have often paid his *Twentieth*. However the Romans, as Dio tells us afterwards, were excessively uneasy at this tax, till Augustus by convincing them

that a better could not be contrived, and by putting them in fear of something worse, persuaded them to be quiet. L. lvi. p. 588.

Thus it continued, and the younger Pliny, a very competent judge, and a very honest man, mentions it, not without approbation, as one of those necessary evils, which was the least oppressive, *The Twentieth*, says he, *is a tax tolerable enough, and easy to the inheritor, if he is not related to the deceased, but very hard, if he is near of kin*: and he commends Nerva and Trajan for mitigating this law in favour of new made citizens, who, it seems, had been obliged to pay the *Twentieth*, howsoever related to the testator, as also for moderating it in some other instances which deserve to be perused, *Paneg.* ch. 37. etc.

When a person died intestate, it is to be supposed that the heir at law was subject to the same tax, if he came not within the degrees of relation which were exempted.

This

This tribute must have amounted to a prodigious sum ; for the Roman empire was of a vast extent, the nobility and gentry were very rich, and often had no children to inherit their fortunes, and the arts of flattering the rich by those who were called *Heredipetæ*, *legacy-hunters*, were much practised at Rome ; so that many legacies were continually left to friends, to companions in iniquity, to freed-men and parasites : and this, by the way, suggests one reason, not observed by Dio, why much clamour was made at Rome against the tax.

What made the taxes in general heavy to the Romans, and to the nations which were in subjection to them, was that they were farmed and collected by the Publicans, a sort of sharpers, who were troublesome every where, especially in the remoter provinces, so that the Government was forced from time to time to pare their nails, and to browbeat them, and to make laws, in some of

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which they are set out in sorry colours,
See *Digest*. L. xxxix. *Tit.* iv. 12.

Whether this method deserves any notice and consideration, is submitted to those whom it concerns,

THE READER will perceive, without being told it in form, that he has here only part of a work. The rest may possibly make its appearance some day; but what is now published is so far at least complete, as to have little dependence upon any thing that may follow.



APPENDIX.

I REFERRED the Reader, p. 118. to the visions of Rice Evans, as containing some things not unworthy of notice. Mr. Warburton has given me the following remarks on the man, and on his predictions; and the ^a Bishop of Bangor, and he, have been willing to appear as my friends, and my coadjutors in this work.

^a Whose Dissertation on the destruction of Jerusalem is inserted above, p. 21—33.

IBIT

*IBIT et hoc nostri per sæcula fœdus amoris,
Doct̃orumque inter nomina nomen ero :
Forſan et extinctum non ſpernet Patria dulcis,
Forſitan et dicet, Tu quoque noſter eras.
Talibus inferiis placabilis Umbra quieſcet,
Lenibunt Manes talia dona meos.
Interea Labor ipſe levat faſtidia vitæ:
Æterno rectum ſub Duce pergat iter !
Scriptores ſancti, ſalvete, et cana Vetuſtas ;
Salve, Muſa, nimis blanda tenaxque comes:
Tu puero teneris penitus dilecta ſub annis ;
Tunc etiam emerito cura futura viro ?
Ne tamen æternum, mœſta atq. irata, recede,
Sed raro, ſed vix ſæpe rogata, veni.
Hæc, Fortuna, tuis non ſunt obnoxia regnis,
Livor in hæc poterit juris habere nihil.*

"YOU

“ YOU desired to have a more parti-
 “ cular account of a certain prophecy of
 “ one *Rice Evans*, which you have heard
 “ some of your friends speak of in terms
 “ of astonishment; as I have his Book,
 “ which is scarce, I am able to give
 “ you that satisfaction. But it may
 “ not be amiss first to let you into the
 “ character of the Prophet. *Rice Evans*
 “ lived and flourished in the last century,
 “ during the time of our civil confusions.
 “ He was a warm Welshman, and not
 “ disposed to be an idle spectator in so
 “ busy a scene. So he left his native
 “ country for London; and finding on
 “ his arrival there, that *Inspiration* was all
 “ running one way, he projected to make
 “ a diversion of it from the Round-heads
 “ to the Cavaliers, and set up for a Pro-
 “ phet of the Royalists. He did and said
 “ many extraordinary things to the Gran-
 “ dees of both parties: and it must be
 “ owned, he had a spice of what we sel-
 “ dom find wanting in the ingredients of a
 “ modern Prophet, I mean *Prevarica-*
 “ *tion.*

" *tion.* Of this he has himself given us a
 " notable example in the 42^d page of his
 " Tract, called *An Ecccho from Heaven,*
 " &c. which, because it contains an un-
 " common fetch of wit, I shall transcribe.
 " *There are two confessions, says he, sub-*
 " *scribed by my hand in the city of London,*
 " *which if not now, in after-ages will be*
 " *considered. The one was made at the*
 " *Spittle, and subscribed with the right*
 " *hand, in the aforesaid vestry, before Sir*
 " *Walter Earl; and that is a confession*
 " *made by the inner man, or new man. The*
 " *other confession is a confession of the flesh,*
 " *called the outward man, or old man, and*
 " *the confession I made before Green [the Re-*
 " *corder] and subscribed with the left hand,*
 " *as the difference in the writing, being*
 " *compared, will make it appear. I know*
 " *the Bench and the people thought I re-*
 " *canted, but, alas! they were deceived.*

" Well, but this very man has in the
 " 77 and 78 pages of this *Ecccho*, printed
 " for the Author in 12^o and sold at his
 " house in Long Alley in Black Friars,

“ 1653. *second Edition, with additions,*
 “ a Prophecy which astonishes all who
 “ carefully consider it. It is in these
 “ words.

“ *A Vision that I had presently after*
 “ *the King's death.*

“ *I thought that I was in a great Hall,*
 “ *like the shire-hall, in the Castle in Win-*
 “ *chester, and there was none there but a*
 “ *Judge that sat upon the Bench, and my-*
 “ *self; and as I turned to a window*
 “ *north-westward, and looking into the*
 “ *palm of my hand, there appeared to me*
 “ *a face, head and shoulders, like the Lord*
 “ *Fairfaxes, and presently it vanished*
 “ *again; then arose the Lord Cromwel,*
 “ *and he vanished likewise; then arose a*
 “ *young face, and he had a crown upon*
 “ *his head, and he vanished also; and an-*
 “ *other young face arose with a crown on*
 “ *his head, and he vanished also; and an-*
 “ *other young face arose with a crown up-*
 “ *on his head, and he vanished also; and*
 “ *another young face arose with a crown*
 “ *upon his head and vanished in like*
 “ *man-*

“ manner : And as I turned the palm of my
 “ hand back again to me, and looked, there
 “ did appear no more in it. Then I turn-
 “ ed to the Judge, and said to him, There
 “ arose in my hand seven, and five of them
 “ had crowns ; but when I turned my hand,
 “ the blood turned to its veins, and there
 “ appeared no more : so I awoke.

“ The interpretation of this Vision is,
 “ that after the Lord Cromwell there shall
 “ be Kings again in England, which thing
 “ is signified unto us by those that arose
 “ after him, who were all crowned, but the
 “ generations to come may look for a
 “ change of the blood, and of the name in
 “ the royal seat after five Kings reigne once
 “ passed. 2 Kings x. 30.

“ [The words referred to in this text
 “ are these, And the Lord said unto Je-
 “ hu, because thou hast done well, &c. thy
 “ Children of the fourth Generation shall
 “ sit on the throne of Israel.]

“ The restoration of the Monarchy is
 “ here plainly predicted ; together with
 “ the crown’s passing from the house of
 “ Stewart

“ Stewart into another family. But the
 “ Prophet at first sight appears to be
 “ doubtful about the number of reigns
 “ before that event. He reckons up in his
 “ hand only *four* successions to the Mo-
 “ narchy, yet in his speech to the Judge
 “ he calls them *five* : in his interpreta-
 “ tion he says the change shall be after
 “ the reign of *five* Kings ; and yet refer-
 “ ring, in conclusion, to a text in the
 “ second book of *Kings*, we are brought
 “ back again to the number *four*. But
 “ it is this very circumstance which
 “ makes the prodigious part of this af-
 “ fair. A good guesser (who, an anci-
 “ ent Writer says, is the best prophet)
 “ might reasonably conjecture the Mo-
 “ narchy, after the subverter of it, Crom-
 “ well, was taken off, would be restor-
 “ ed ; and, if it continued in the same
 “ family for *four* or *five* generations, that
 “ was as much as, in the ceaseless revo-
 “ lutions of human affairs, could be ex-
 “ pected. But we shall find there was
 “ something more in this matter. The
 “ Succession of the House of Stewart,
 “ during

“ during the course of these *four* gene-
 “ rations, was disturbed, and that cir-
 “ cumstance our Prophet has distinctly
 “ marked out. The *four* crowned heads
 “ he saw in his hand denote Charles the
 “ II^d, James II^d, Queen Mary, and Queen
 “ Anne. They are afterwards called
 “ *five* : and so they were ; for King Wil-
 “ liam III^d shared the sovereignty with
 “ Queen Mary, and reigned alone after
 “ her. But he being of another family,
 “ when the *succession* in the house of
 “ Stewart is reckoned up, he could not
 “ be numbered : so they must be there
 “ called *four*. When the Prophet rec-
 “ kons the *reigns*, King William comes
 “ in, and then they are called *five*. The
 “ key to this explanation is the text he
 “ concludes with --- *Thy children of the*
 “ FOURTH generation shall sit on the
 “ throne.

“ A great and extraordinary Genius
 “ lately deceased, struck with this won-
 “ derful coincidence, hath written with
 “ his own hand in the margin of the
 “ page,

“ page, these words, *A manifest Prophe-*
 “ *cy.* You know who I mean. But
 “ every one must judge for himself, un-
 “ less (which I had rather) you would
 “ give us your own sentiments upon
 “ it.”

“ But now my hand is in, as you
 “ have had one of his *visions*, you shall
 “ have a *dream* too, as he tells it in the
 “ 12th page of the first, and the 8th page
 “ of his second edition. --- *My heart was*
 “ *for London, and as one Mr. Oliver Tho-*
 “ *mas preached, Cant. ii. 10. Arise up, my*
 “ *love, my fair one, and come away, my*
 “ *heart was allured with it, that I thought*
 “ *it was a hastening of me to London; and*
 “ *at that time in a dream methought I was*
 “ *on Islington-hill by the water-house, and*
 “ *London appeared before me as if it had*
 “ *been burnt with fire, and there remained*
 “ *nothing of it but a few stone walls: but*
 “ *I made nothing of this dream.*

“ Whosoever reflects upon what we
 “ are told by Burnet in the *History of his*
 “ *own times*, vol. i. p. 231. of the condition

“ in which the works were put at the
 “ *Water-house* at *Islington*, when the fire
 “ of London happened, cannot but think
 “ *Evans*’ making this the scene of his
 “ dream a very unaccountable circum-
 “ stance. His telling us that *he made no-*
 “ *thing of this dream* adds to the credit of
 “ his relation.”

IT is observable that in the first edition printed in the year 1652, *Evans* reckons up *five*, not *four* young faces in his hand, and he concludes only thus:

All that I apprehend by this vision is, that after the Lord Cromwell we shall have a king again in England.

My thoughts are the same with Mr. Warburton’s, that the visions of *Evans* are a curiosity deserving to be known, but not a foundation to build any thing upon. If there be in them any forgery, which the difference between the first and second editions once inclined me to suspect, they
 who

who can detect it will oblige us and many others by the discovery.

Evans says, p. 16. of Edit. 1652. --- *being perfectly awake --- a voice --- said to me, Go to thy book, whereupon --- I suddenly started up and to the table I went, where my Bible lay open, immediately fastening my eyes upon Ephes. v. 14. being these words, Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, etc.* The same thing he did at other times. Evans, who was illiterate, little thought that he was practising a kind of divination in great request amongst the Pagans, and the ancient Jews and Christians, who had recourse to their *Sortes Homericæ, Virgilianæ, Evangelicæ, and Biblicæ*. The same causes produce the same effects, and nothing is more like one Enthusiast, Mystic, Cabbalist, or Quietist, than another.

A D.



A D D E N D A.

Pag. 205. l. ult. *into Ægypt.* Add: *Afterwards the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Ægypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life, Exod. iv. 19.* So the Angel of the Lord said to Joseph, in almost the same words, *Arise and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life, Mat. ii. 20.* pointing him out, as it were, for that Prophet who should arise like unto Moses.

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